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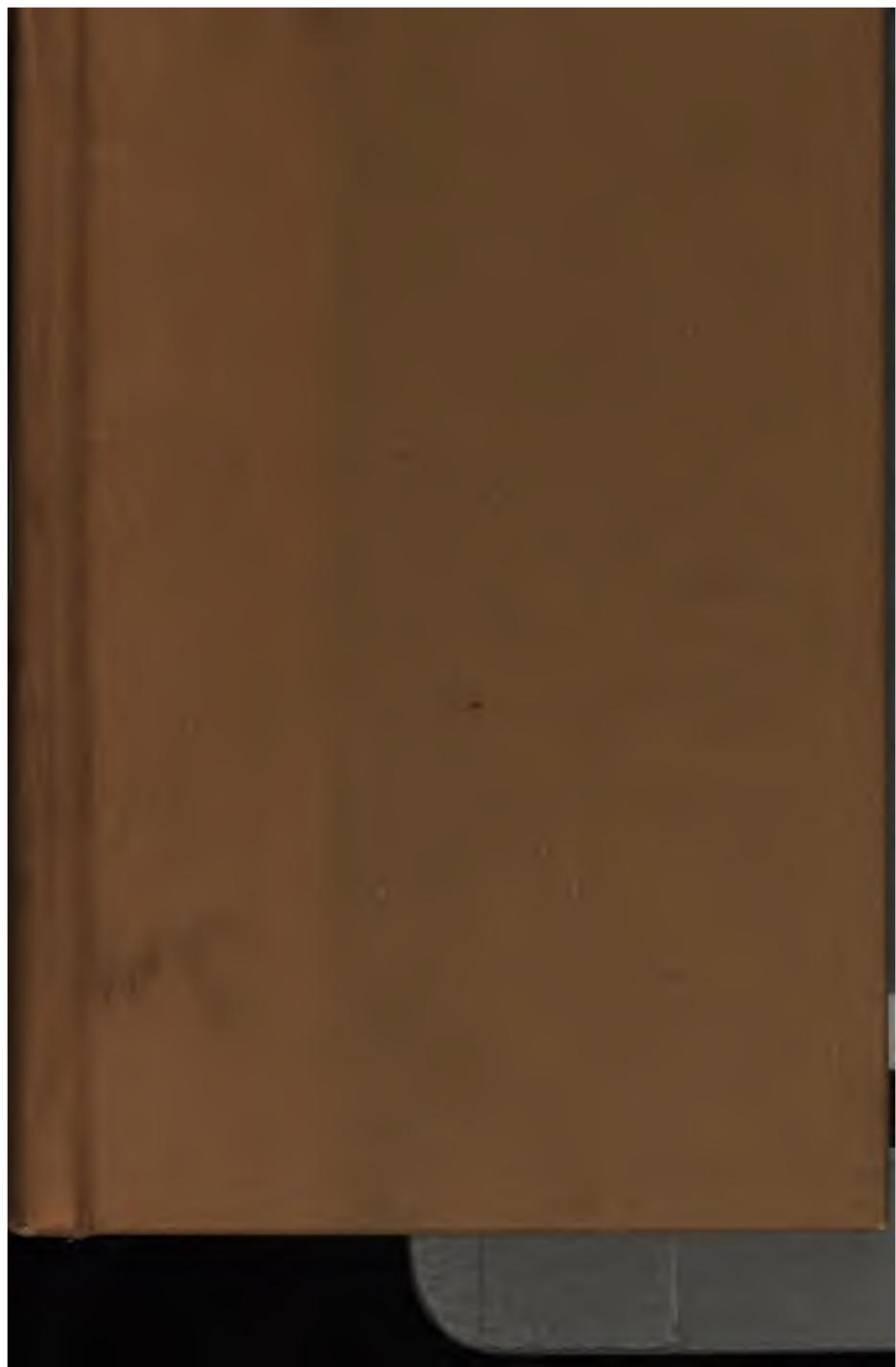
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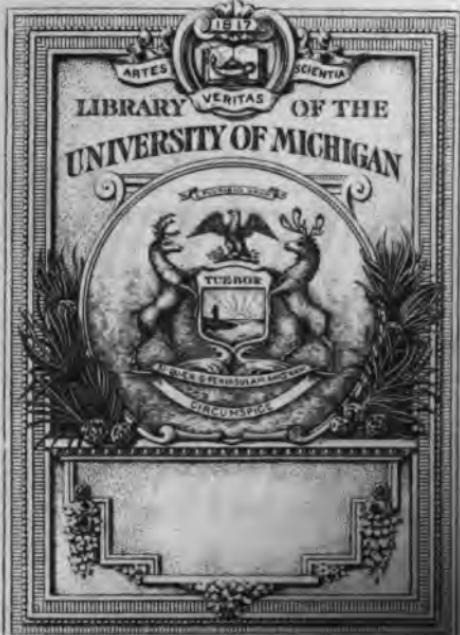
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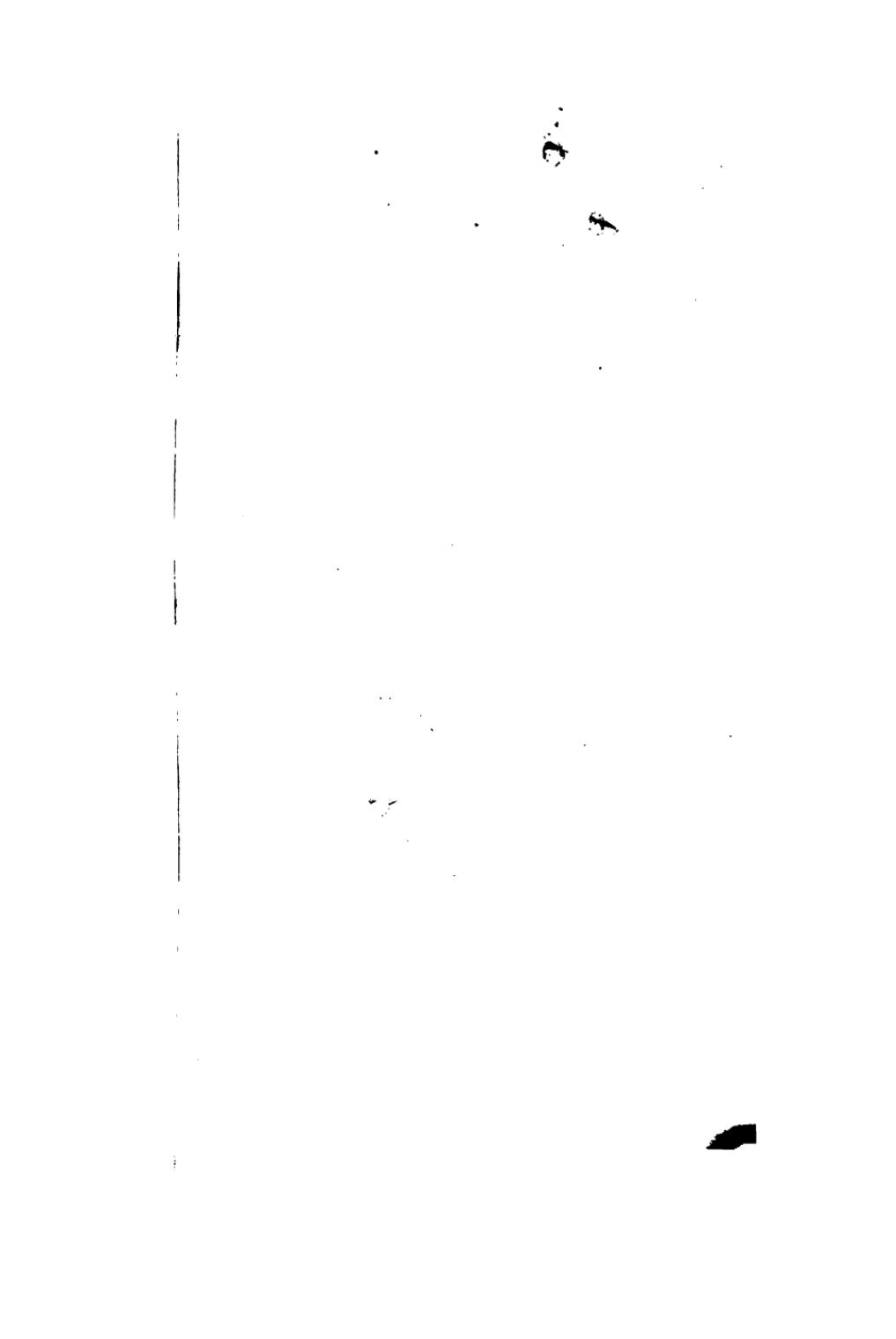
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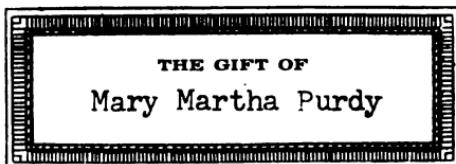
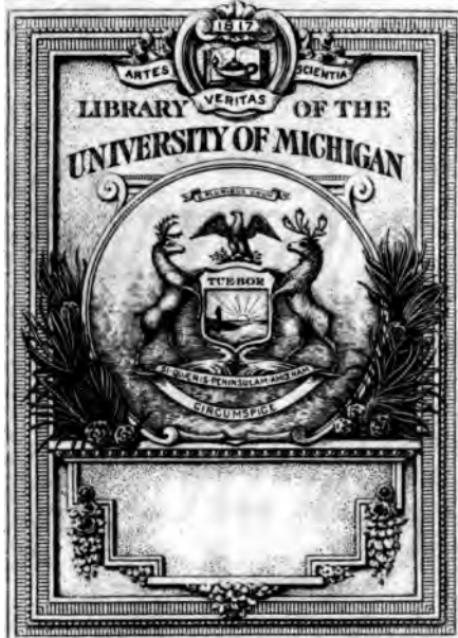
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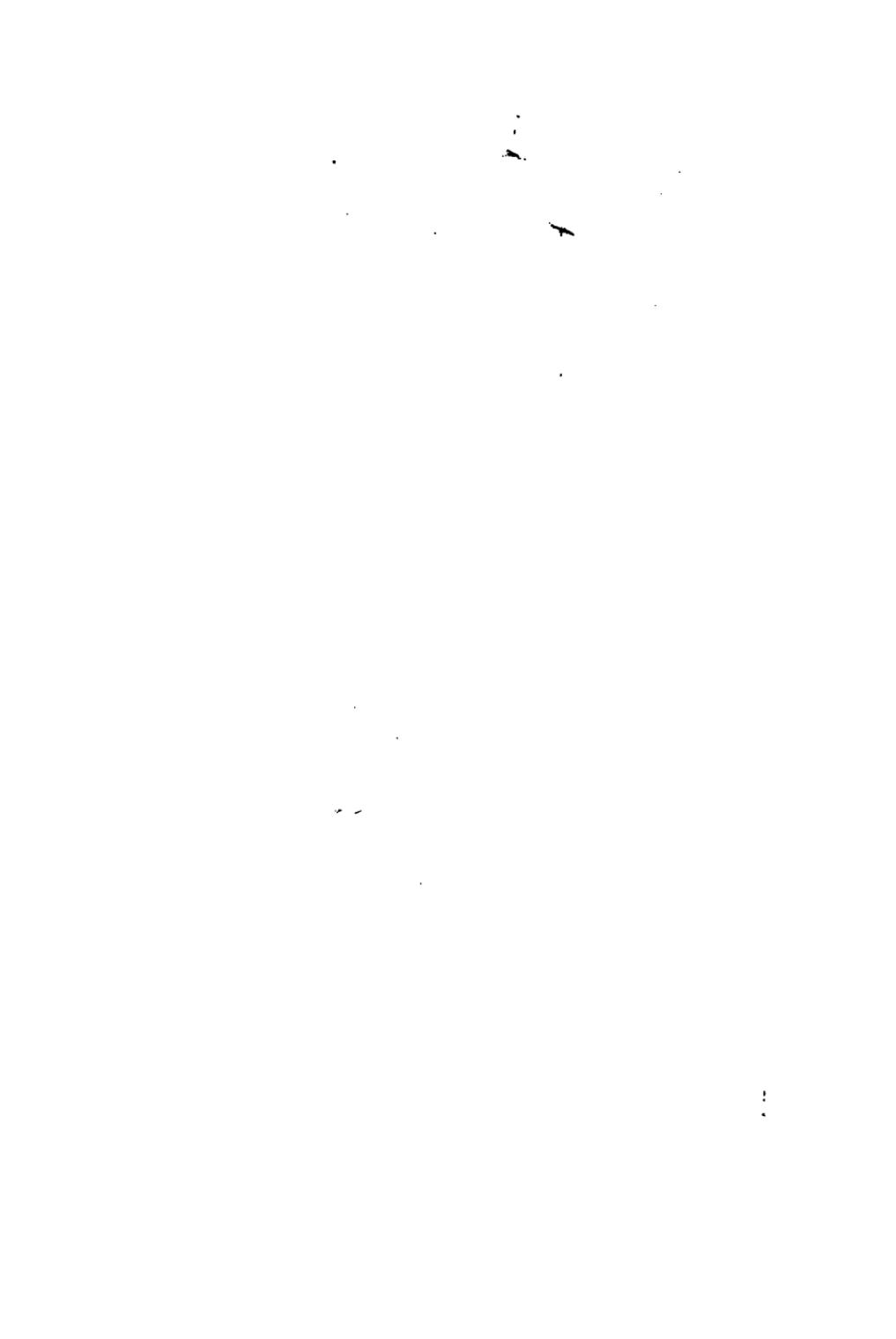




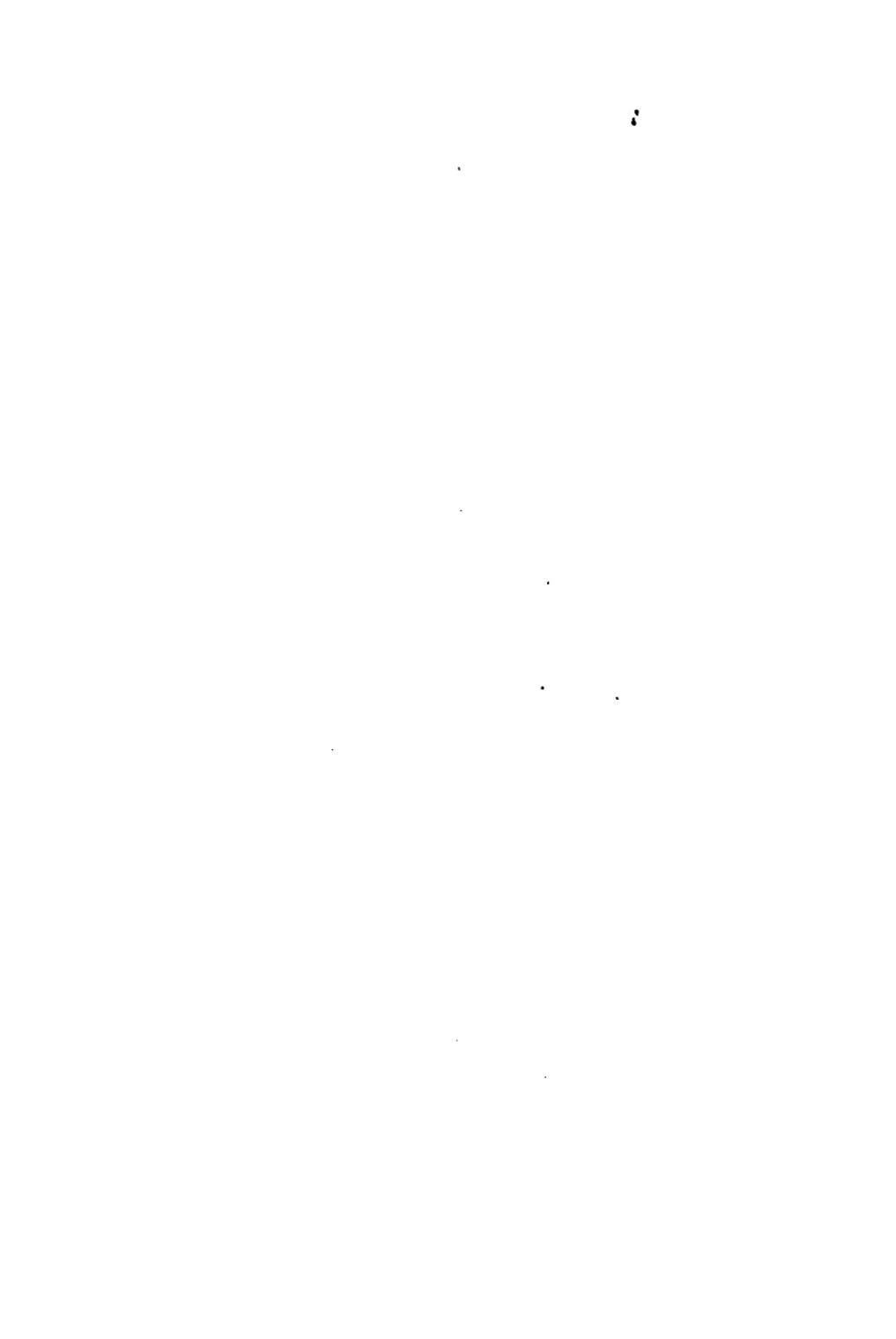


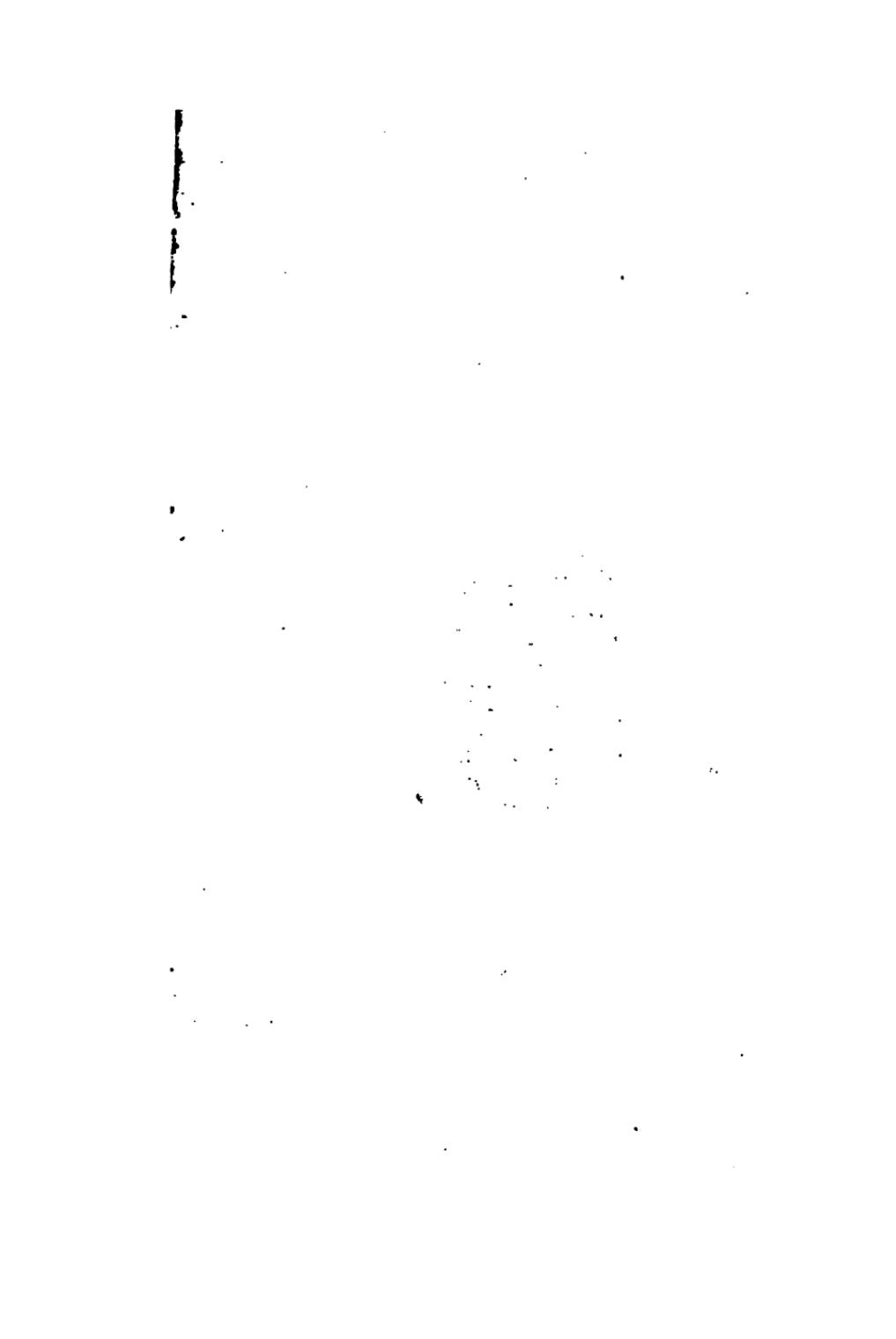














Nugæ Antiquæ

NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ:

BEING A
MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTION

OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS

In PROSE and VERSE:

Written in the Reigns of HENRY VIII. Queen
MARY, ELIZABETH, King JAMES, &c.

By SIR JOHN HARINGTON,
The Translator of Ariosto, and others who
lived in those Times.

SELECTED from AUTHENTIC REMAINS

By the Rev. HEN. HARINGTON, A. M.
Of QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXON.

And Minor Canon of the Cathedral Church of
NORWICH.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. II.

*Non Potes in Nugas dicere plura meas
Ipse ego Quam dixi—
Novimus esse Nibil.*

MARTIAL.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND;
AND L. BULL, AT BATH.

M,DCC,XCII.

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1792

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TO THE
Right Honourable and Reverend,
Lord FRANCIS SEYMOUR,
DEAN of WELLS,
THIS VOLUME IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

N O T

As a HISTORY of THOSE TIMES, better pictured
In the ANNALS of HIS OWN FAMILY;

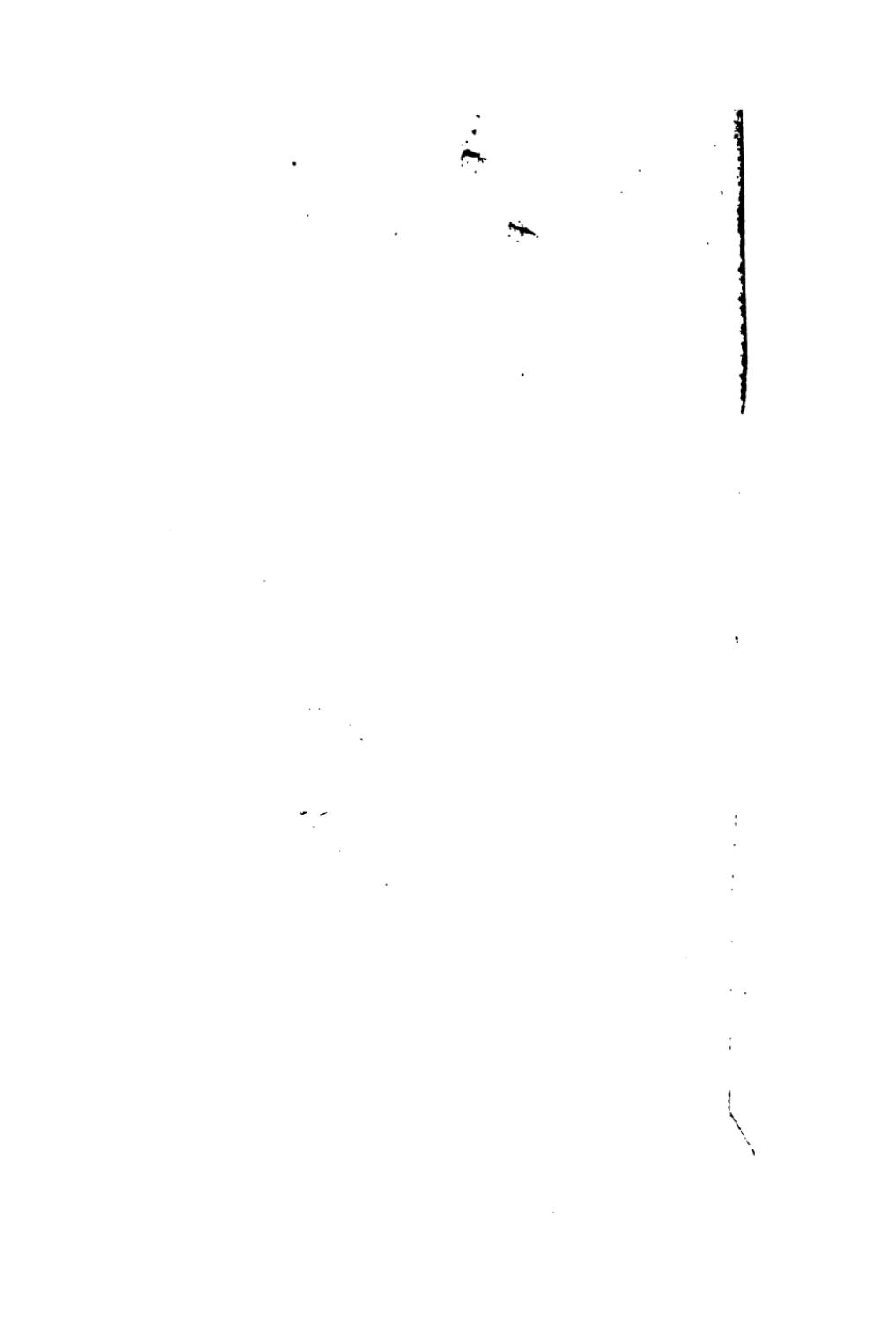
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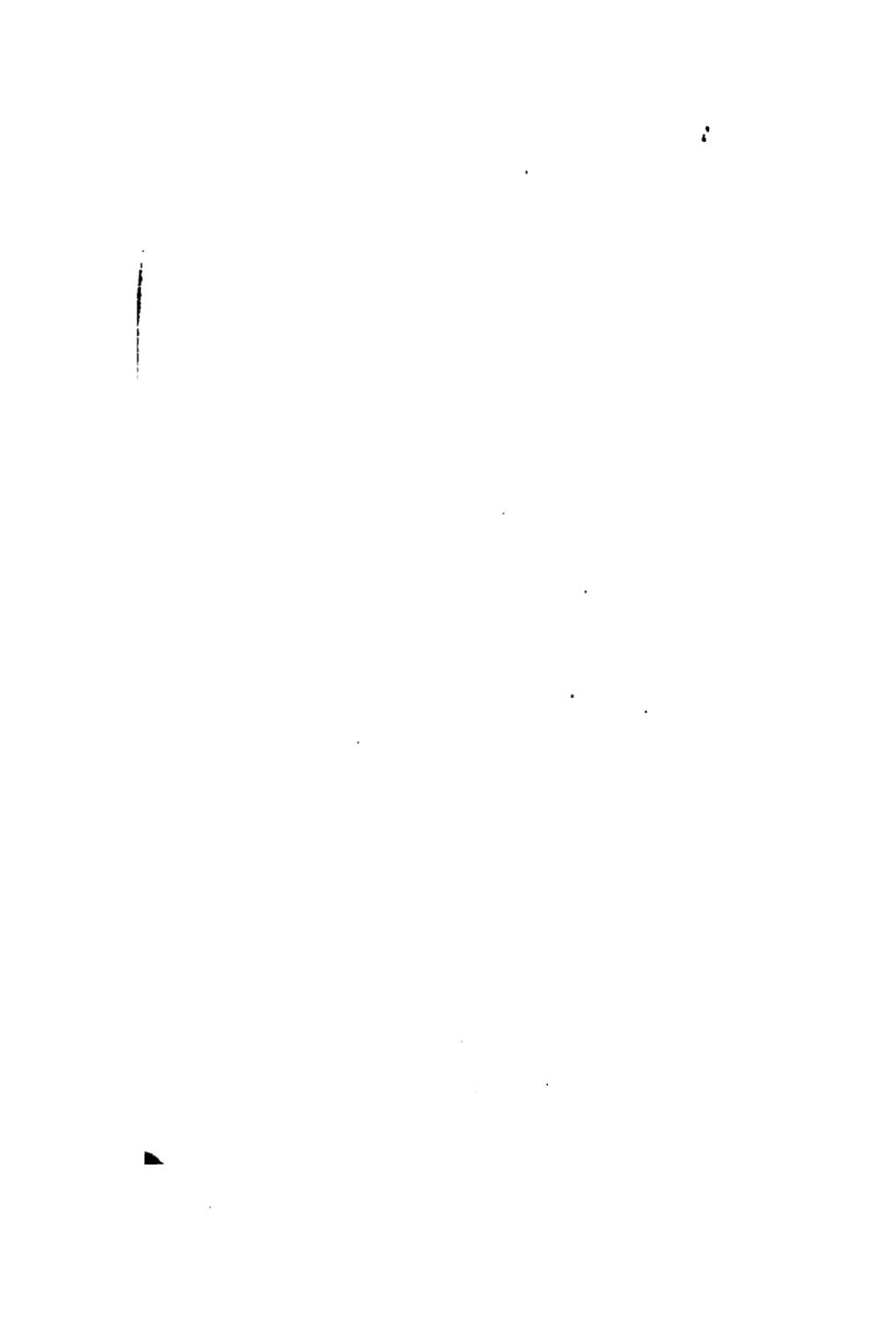
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The ESTEEM and FRIENDSHIP shewn

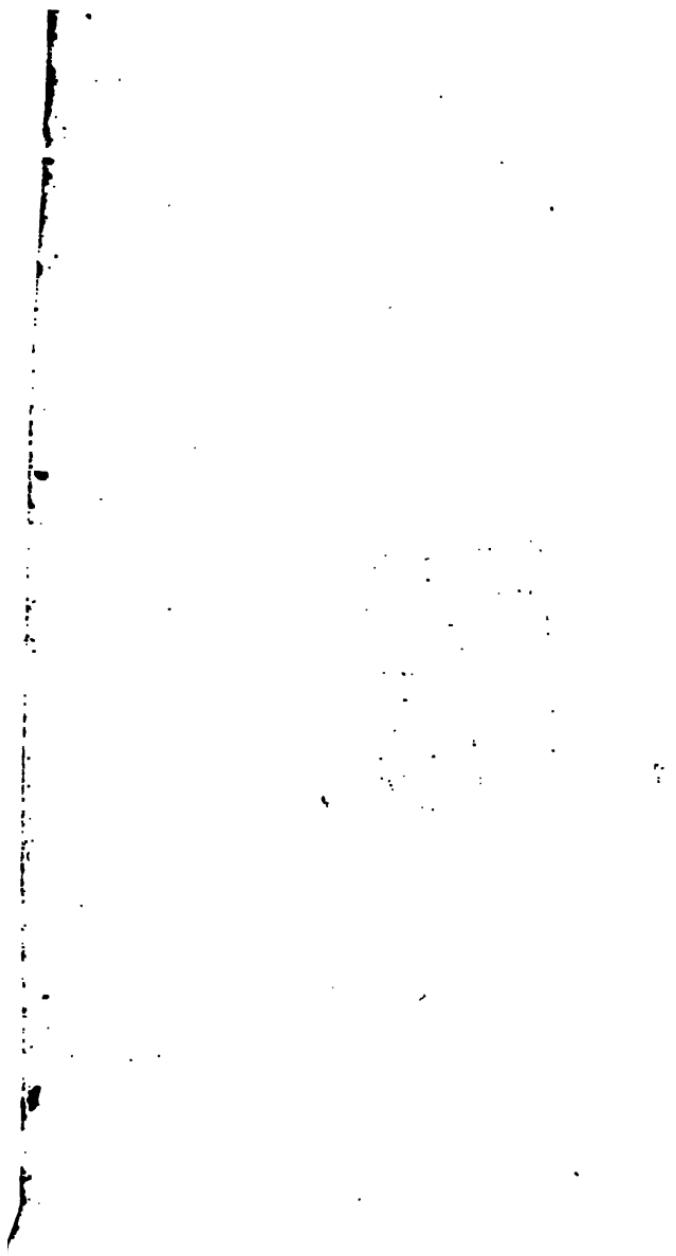
TO THE FATHER OF
HIS LORDSHIP's
MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

HEN. HARINGTON.

NORWICH, Sept. 2,
1778.









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REPORT





REPORT OF A
J O U R N E Y
INTO THE
NORTH OF IRELAND,
WRITTEN TO
J U S T I C E C A R Y,
B Y
Sir JOHN HARINGTON, 1599.

HAVING expected shipping till the 8th of this month, and meeting with none convenient, in respect that all were taken up with sick soildiers, or with my Lord Lieutenants horses, I was desirous to make some use of the time that I should stay here, and therefore was easily per-
VOL. II. B suaded

suaded to go with Sir William Warren, my kind friend, with whom I had been formerly acquainted in England, and to see some part of the realme northward, and the Arch-Rebel himself, with whom Sir William was to treat.

But staying at Dundalk till the 15th of this month, and no news certain of the Earl's coming, I went to see the Newry, and from thence to Darlingford by the narrow water, and was hindred by waters that I could not come back to Sir William Warren before his first meeting with the Earl Tyrone, which was on the 17th day; what time how far they proceeded I know not, but it appear'd that the Earl was left in good dysposition, because he kept his hour so well, the next morning. And, as I found after, Sir William had told him of me, and given such a report of me above my desert, that next day, when I came, the Earl us'd far greater respect to me than I expected; and began debasing his own manner of hard life, comparing himself to wolves,

wolves, that fill their bellies sometime, and fast as long for it; then excused himself to me that he could no better call to mind myself, and some of my friends that had done him some courtesy in England; and been oft in his company at my Lord of Ormonds; saying these troubles had made him forget almost all his friends.

After this he fell to private communication with Sir William, to the effecting of the matters begun the day before; to which I thought it not fit to intrude myself, but took occasion the while to entertain his two sons, by posing them in their learning, and their Tutors, which were one Fryar Nangle, a Franciscan, and a younger scholer, whose name I know not; and finding the two children of good towardly spirit, their age between thirteen and fifteen, in English cloths like a Noblemans sons; with velvet gerkins and gold lace; of a good chearful aspect, freckle faced, not tall of stature, but strong, and well set, both of them their English tongue.

I gave them, not without the advice of Sir William Warren, my English translation of Ariosto, which I got at Dublin: which their Teachers took very thankfully, and soon after shewed it the Earl, who call'd to see it openly, and would needs hear some part of it read; I turn'd, as it had been by chance, to the beginning of the 45th canto, and some other passages of the book, which he seemed to like so well, that he solemnly swore his boys should read all the book over to him.

Then they fell to communication again, and, calling me to him, he said, that I should witness, and tell my Lord, Lieutenant, how, against all his confederates wills, Sir William had drawn him to a longer cessation, which he would never have agreed to, but in confidence of my Lords honourable dealing with him; for, saith he, now is my harvest time, now have my men their six weeks pay afore-hand, that they have nothing to do but fight; and if I omit this opportunity, and then you shall prepare



prepare to invade me the mean time, I may be condemned for a fool.

Also one pretty thing I noted, that the paper being drawn for him to sign, and his signing it with O'Neal, Sir William (though with very great difficulty) made him to new write it, and subscribe Hugh Tyrone. Then we broke our fasts with him, and at his meat he was very merry, and it was my hap to thwart one of his Priests in an argument, to which he gave reasonable good ear, and some approbation. He drank to my Lords health, and bade me tell him he loved him, and acknowledgd this cessation had been very honourably kept. He made likewise a solemn protestation that he was not ambitious, but fought only safety of his life, and freedom of his conscience, without which he would not live, though the Queen would give him Ireland.

Then he asked of Sir Henry Harington and said he heard he had much wrong, to have

an imputation of want of courage, for the last defeat at Arkloo : protesting that himself had known Sir Henry serve as valiantly as ever any man did, naming the time, place, and persons, all known to Sir William Warren. Other pleasant and idle tales were needless and impertinent, or to describe his fern table, fern forms spread under the stately canopy of heaven. His guard, for the most part, were beardless boys without shirts ; who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water-spaniels. With what charm such a Master makes them love him I know not, but, if he bid come, they come ; if go, they do go ; if he say do this, they do it. He makes apparent show to be inclinable to peace ; and some of his nearest followers have it buzzed amongst them, that some league of England with Spain or Scotland, or I know not where, may endanger them. But himself, no doubt, waits only to hear what my Lord Lieutenant intends, and according to that will bend his course.

Fryar Nangle swears all oaths, that he will do all the good he can, and that he is guiltless of the heinous crimes he is indited of; for, if he had his pardon, perhaps there might be made good use of him. This is all I remember any way worthy the writing to you, not doubting but Sir William Warren, that had the sole charge of this busines, will give you much better account of the weightier affairs, than I that only went to see their manner of parting,

I remain, in much duty,

JOHN HARINGTON.



To

*To Mr. COMBE, from TRIM, in
IRELAND, 1599.*

GOOD Thomas, I have received sundry letters from you, and namely the last dated August 24th, which came not to my hands till the xxxth of September, whereby it seems the messenger made slow speed, and who it was I know not, and therefore, as I have directed others, so I wish you to name in your letters, if you may, by whom you send them, that they may receive thanks or blame, according to their care and speed. In sundry of your letters, I have received good advertisement and honest counsels, and great good wishes, all which I take in good part; to satisfy you in part of my being here, and what I have seen, and how I have sped (for I find you hear variable reports) you shall understand, that, since my Lord Lieutenant came into Ireland, the forces being divided as occasion required; some into Munster, some to Lefly, many into the North, and a few into Connoght; it was

partly

partly my hap, and partly my choice, for Sir Griffin Markhams sake, and three Markhams more, to go into Connoght ; where I spent some weeks about Aloane, Ballinglow, Clanrickard, Galloway, and lastly, Roscommon, the place then appointed for garrison. This while I saw many things and some well worth the observing, both for war and peace ; and notwithstanding all the dangerous passages through Paves (as they call those woods, which are full of Rebels) and through divers fordes, which are likewise places of great disadvantage, yet we passed still through all with small losse ; notwithstanding, I say, the attempts and ambushes of fiery Markhue, of Connor Roe, of the Obrians, of some of the Bourks, and other the Rebels, such as the Jaytes and O'Maddins, and many mad knaves beside. And this while my Lord Lieutenant went through Munster as far as Asketon, and was sometimes fought with upon places of advantage, but without any great losse on either side. Neither in all that journey was any thing done greatly worth

worth speaking of, but the taking of Cathyre,⁶
and one or two castles beside.

After this, the next journey was to O'phaley, where Sir Cunynes Clyfford, the Governor of Connought, met my Lord, and Sir Griffin Markham, and six of the best Gentlemen of his troop came with him, and served bravely on foot, for no horse could passe the way they came : they burned and spoile a country called Ferrallie, and won a castle of Terryllies, one of the shrewdeft Rebels of Ireland, and his companies did no lesse ; so that all the country was on fire at once, and our comming was so unlook'd for, that in the towns where we came, the Rebels had not leisure to carry away their young children, much lesse their corn and other stuff. In all this journey I was comrade to the Earl of Kildare, and slept both on one pillow every night for the most part ; here, at the parting, my Lord gave Sir Griffin Markham great commendations, and made him Colonel and Commander of all the horse in Connoght ;

Connoght ; and gave me and some others the honour of knighthood in the field ; and so, my honest Thomas, with honour, conquest, and content, we returned again into Connoght. But see the changes and chances of warr—The Governor woud needs undertake a journey to Sligo, with twenty one weak companies, that were not 1400 strong ; and a less proportion of horse than had been requisite for such a purpose ; and yet out of his too much haste and courage, after two long days march, with small rest, and less repast, he would needs draw his men to set upon the enemy in a place of great disadvantage, called the Curlews, where, though the enemy was at first repulsed, yet at last their numbers encreasing, and our munition failing, or some secret cause, that we know not, dismaying the footmen, they fell all in rout ; the Governor and Sir Alexander Radcliffe were slain 'ere they cou'd come to their rescue. Some of our horse gave a desperate charge upon the hill, among rocks and bogs, where never horse was seen to charge before ; it is verily

verily thought they had all been cut in pieces, at least lost all their colours; so that, if reputation were to be challenged when so great loss accompanied it, we might take upon us to have won some honour; having, as Sir Henry Davers did pleasantly write to Sir Griffin Markham, not Roman citizens, but rascal soldiers, who, so their Commanders had been saved, had been worthy to have been half hanged for their rascal cowardliness; neither was this good service of ours unpaid for—beside the loss of two or three good horse, and better men, Sir Griffin Markham was shot through the arm with a musket; and though he bare the hurt admirable well, for a day or two, and especially at the instant, yet ever since he hath kept his bed of it; and hath been in danger of his arm by the hurt, and of his life by an ague; but now he is, I hope, out of danger of both, and safe at Dublin.

Myself, after I had conducted him in a horse litter safe beyond danger of the Rebels,

bel, within eight miles of Dublin, went to Trim, the place appointed for our garrison, and from thence have visited Navan and Arbrachan, where my Lord Lieutenant lay yesterday, and the day before, and meant to go from thence to the Brennys; but most men think, by means the weather falls out so monstrous wet as the like hath not been seen, that he will not go far North.

I lye here at Mr. Robert Hammon's house, who is this year Port Reeve of Trim, as much in effect as Mayor. He shews the greatest gratitude to me, and to all my friends for my sake; that to my remembrance I can say no man hath done more. Yet was he not beholden to my father for one foot of his living, but only for his breeding. I recommend this example the rather unto you, because I would have you follow it as far as your ability and opportunity will give leave. Now you see by the course of this letter, that I have rea-

son to thank God very greatly, that among so many as have been hurt and slain, when I have been, and some shot even in the very same ranks I was of, I have escaped all this while without bodily hurt. I protest there is much rather great cause to thank God who hath kept me so long in bodily health at Roscommon, where not so few as sixty died within the walls of the castle, in which we lay; and some as lusty men as any came out of England. In the camp where drinking water, and milk, and vinegar, and aqua vitae, and eating raw beef at midnight, and lying upon wet green corn oftentimes, and lying in my boots, with heats and colds, made many sick; yet myself (in a good hour be it spoken, and a better heard) was never sick, neither in the camp nor the castle, at sea or on land. Besides all this, to vaunt myself at large, to you, I have informed myself reasonably well of the whole state of the country, by observation and conference; so that I count the knowledge I have gotten here worth more than

than half the three hundred pounds this
journey hath cost me. And as to warr,
joyning the practise to the theory, and
reading the book you so prays'd, and other
books of Sir Griffin Markhams, with his
conference and instructions, I hope at my
coming home to talk of counterscarpes,
and cazamats, with any of our Captains.
The Irish Lords, Gentry, yea, and Citi-
zens, where I come, I have found so apt
to offer me kindness, so desirous of my ac-
quaintance, that my friends think it a pre-
sage of a fortune I might rise to in this
kingdom ; though myself do little affect it,
much less hope to effect it. My Ariosto
has been entertained into Galloway before
I came ; when I got thither, a great Lady,
a young Lady, and a fair Lady read her-
self asleep, nay dead with a tale of it : The
verse, I think so lively figured her fortune ;
for, as Olympia was forsaken by the un-
grateful Byreno, so had this Lady been
left by her unkind Sir Calisthenes, whose

hard dealing with her cannot be excused,
no not by Demosthenes.

Lastly, which perhaps will seem strange to you, and was very grateful to me, three sons of my cousin Robert Markhams of Cottam, whom you know the world mistook to have been wronged by me, and consequently deeply offended at me, have in their several kinds and places offerd me such courtesies, kindnesses, nay, such services, as if they held me for one of their best friends in Ireland. Thus, gentle Thomas, I have, in recompence of your long letters, enlarged the discourse of my Irish affairs; but I must not forget nor cease to tell her Majesties good, wife, and gracious providings for us her Captains and our soldiers, in summer heats and winter colds, in hunger and thirst, for our backs and our bellies. That is to say, every Captain of an hundred footmen doth receive weekly, upon every Saturday, his full entertainment of twenty-eight shillings.

In

In like case, every Lieutenant fourteen shillings; an Ensign seven shillings; our serjeant, surgeon, drum, and fife, five ~~11~~ ¹¹ shillings pay by way of imprest; and every common soldier three shillings deliverd to all by the pole weekly. To the four last lower Officers two shillings weekly, and for every common soldier twenty pence weekly is to be answerd to the full value thereof, in good apparel of different kinds, part for winter, and part for summer, which is orderd of good quality and stuff for the prices; patterns whereof must be sent to the Lord Deputy to be compared and prepared as followeth.

Apparel for an Officer in Winter.

- 7 A cafflock of broad cloth with bays, and trimmed with silk lace, 27 shillings and 7 pence.
- 7 A doublet of canvas with silk buttons, and lined with white linnen, 14 shillings and 5 pence.
- 7 Two shirts and two bands 9 shillings and 6 pence.

C 3

Three

Three pair of Kersey stockings at 2 shillings and 4 pence a pair, 7 shillings.

Three pair of shoes of neats leather, at 2 shillings and 4 pence per pair, 7 shillings

One pair of Venetians of broad Kentish cloth, with silver lace, 15 shillings and 4 pence.

In Summer.

Two shirts and bands, 9 shillings 6 pence

Two pair of shoes, 4 shillings 8 pence

One pair of stockings, 2 shillings 8 pence

A felt hat and band, 5 shillings 5 pence

Apparel for a common Soldier in Winter.

A caffock of Kentish broad cloth lined with cotton, and trimmed with buttons and loops, 17 shillings 6 pence

A doublet of canvas with white linnen lining, 12 shillings 6 pence

A hat cap coloured, seven shillings

Two shirts of Osnabridge holland and bands, 8 shillings

Three

Three pair of neats leather shoes 2 shillings
 4 pence each, 7 shillings
 Three pair kerfy stockings 8 shillings
 One pair Venetians of Kentish broad cloth
 with buttons, loops, and lining of lin-
 nen, thirteen shillings 4 pence.

In Summer.

Two shirts of Osnabridge and 2 falling
 Holland bands, 7 shillings
 Two pair neats leather shoes, 4 shillings 8
 pence
 One pair of stockings, 2 shillings 8 pence
 A hat cap coloured, 3 shillings

Thus, friend Thomas, her Majesty, with
 wonted grace hath graced our bodies, and
 may heav'ns grace cloath her in everlasting
 robes of righteousness, and on earth peace
 to her who always sheweth good will to-
 ward all men.

So refresheth thy loving Master,

JOHN HARINGTON.

To

ATHLONE, in *Ireland*, 1599.

To Sir ANTHONY STANDEN.

I DOWT not but many pens and tongues
 utter, after many fashions, the report
 of our late unfortunate journey, but yet I
 thought it not amiss to write you this breif
 narration of it; which I may say, *Quæque
 ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars una fu.*
 On Sunday last the Governor marched with
 one and twenty companies, or colours (for
 indeed some of them were but mere colours
 of companies, having sixty for a hundred
 and fifty) from Tulske, eight miles beyonde
 Roscommon, to the Abbey of Boyly, some
 fourteen miles; and hearing belike that the
 enemy was but weak in the Curlews, and
 that they expected not his coming; (because
 Captain Cosby the very day before came
 from Boyly towards Roscommon) on this
 account the Governor, God blessh him, re-
 solved to possess the Pare that nyght, being

two miles from the Abbey. This was a-
gainst the minds of most of the Captains ;
the soldiers being weary and fasting info-
much that they spake for meat 'ere they
went up but the Governor promist them
they should have beef enough at nyght,
and so drew them on ; but many, God
wot, lost their stomachs before supner. †
The order was this, Captain Lister led the
forlorn hope ; Sir Alexander Ratcliff and
his regiment had the vaunt-guard ; my
Lord of Dublin led the battle ; Sir Arthur
Savage the rear ; the horse were appointed
to stand in a little pasture at the foot of the
hill, to the intent that, when the Pare had
had been cleared, they might have come
up. After our men had gone up the hill
and entered part of the Pare, the Rebels
begun to play upon them from a barracado
that they had made, but our men soon beat
them from it, and, so mounting high, Sir
Alexander Radcliff very bravely beat them
out of a thin wood into a bog on the left
side of the Pare ; and we who stood at the
foot

then made his way through the whole band and escaped, notwithstanding his walls were only mud. Such was their panick, as verily thinking he effected all by dint of witchery, and had by magic compell'd them not to touch him. And this belief doth much daunt our soldiers when they come to deal with the Irishry, as I can well perceive from their discourse. You will hear more from other Captains of further advances:

So I refle, to all commande,

JOHN HARINGTON.



To

To Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, Knight.

SIR,

IT is not a lake of Lethe, that makes us forget our friends, but it is the lack of good messengers, for who will write, when his letters shall be opened by the way, and construed at pleasure, or rather displeasure? — Some used this in Ireland, that perhaps have repented it since in England. I came to Court in the very heat and height of all displeasures. After I had been there but an hour, I was threatened with the Fleet; I answered poetically, that coming so late from the land-service, I hoped that I should not be prest to serve in her Majesty's fleet in Fleet-Street. After three days every man wondered to see me at liberty; but though in conscience there was neither rhyme nor reason to punish me for going to see Tyrone; yet if my rhyme had not been better liked of then my reason, (I mean when I gave the young Baron of Dungan-

non an Ariosto) I think I had lain by the heels for it. But I had this good fortune, that, after four or five days. the Queen had talked of me and twice talked to me, though very briefly. At last she gave me a full and gracious audience in the Withdrawing chamber at Whitehall, where herself being accuser, judge, and witness. I was cleared, and graciously dismissed. What should I say ! I seemed to myself for the time, like Saint Paul rapt up in the third heaven, where he heard wordes not to be uttered by men ; for neither must I utter what I then heard; until I come to heaven, I shall never come before a statelier Judge again, nor one that can temper majesty, wisdom, learning, choler, and favour, better than her Highness did at that time.. In the discourse you were not unspoken of her. You shall hear 'ere long, but not by writing, for I will send a man. Thus much I adventure to write by this boy, but I trust him with no messages. I omitted no opportunity of mentioning and gracing the best



best I could, all my friends while I staid at London: But in December I came hither, but since I hear little, and do nothing but sit by a good fire, and feed my lean horses, and hearken for good news but hear none, save the certain expectation of peace with Spain.

My Lord Keeper is a widdower; Doctor Eaton hath eaten the Bishoprick of Ely, all the Clergy with him choaked with it. Mr. Edmondes hath been with the Dutches of Burgundy, and well used, and she speaketh much honour of the Queen, which moves great hope of a league. You wonder I write nothing of One—believe me I hear nothing; but HE* is where he was, and I think must be till these great busynesses be concluded. Let this suffice from a private country Knight, that lives among clouted shoes, in his frize jacket and gamashes, and who envies not the great Com-

D 2 manders

* This was the Earl of Essex.

[28]

inanders of Ireland, but hereby commends
himself to them.

Your true friend,

Kelston, near Bath, JOHN HAMILTON.
Feb. 20, 1599.



To

The Earl of ESSEX to JOHN HAWNGTON, Esq. touchinge his beinge appointed Lord Leutenant in IRELANDE, 1599.

HER Majesties Grace appointethe me to go to Irelande, and hath speciallie commended yourselfe to my assistance and notyse; hence you are to lerne myne affections for hir commandes; you muste get forwarde and well accouterde in all haste for thys undertakyng. I shall provyde you to a commande of horsemen in conforte and commande of the Earl of Southamptone; youre sarvys shall not be ill reportede or unrewardede for the love the Queene bearethe you. I will confer soche honor and advantages as are in my breste and powere; forasmuche as hir Majestie makethe me to commaunde peace or warre, to truce, parley, or soche matter as seemethe beste for our enterpryse and goode of hir realme: Be nowe assurede of my love for hir sake who byds it, and accounte

D 3

youre

youre happynesse in hir favor, and hys
whom she favorethe, even myselfe, who
wylhethc youre advauncement.

ESSEX.



I have beaten Knollys and Montjoye in
the Councel, and by G-d I will
beat Tyr-Owen in the feilde; for no-
thynge worthye hir Majesties honor
hathe yet beene atchievede.

N. B. Essex knyghted this Gentleman in the
feilde, with many others; which provoked not a
little the Queen at his return home. *Vid. History,*
Camden, &c.



Sir

Sir JOHN HARRINGTON'S Report to
Queen ELIZABETH, concerning
the Earle of ESSEX'S Jour-
neys in IRELAND, 1599.

AFTER the Lo. Lieutenant-general and Governor of Ireland had resed certayn dayes at Dublin, for establishing the state of the kingdom, and for making his necessary provyson for the warre (which I can but conieecture) his Lordship departed thence (May 10.) toward the champion fields between the villadge Killashe and Castell Martin: In whiche place (on the 12th) he appointed to meeete him 17 Ensignes of foote and 300 horse; whiche his Lordship devideid into regiments, appointing the same to be commaunded by Collonells: The daie folowinge, the rebells shewed themselves in small numbers, deliveringe some fewe shottes oute of woods and ditches upon our vaunt couriers, but without anie hurt. This night the armie lodged by Athie, whiche hathe beeene a greate markett, but
broughte

broughte by theis warres into the state of a
pore villadge: It is devyded in two partes
by the river Baro, over the whiche lyethe
a stone bridge, and over that a Castell, oc-
cupied by Iames Fitz Deane (a Gent. of
the familie of the Geraldynes, who yeilded
himselfe to the mercie of the Lo. Leafete-
naunte; as did also, the same daie, the Lo:
Viscount Mountgarrett and the Lo. of Cahir
(bothe Buttlers) who were presented to his
Lo. by the Earle of Ormond, who in that
place ioyned his forces to our armie: His
Lo. having putt a guarde in the Castell of
Athie, passed his forces ouer the Baro by
the bridge of the Castell; whose riuver being
not otherwaies fordable but with difficultie;
and the bridge therof the onlie waie whishe
leade the into the Queenes Countie; thim-
portaunce of this enterprise must appeare
to the most dull and ignoraunt fence. At
Woodstocke (a villadge scituate vpon Baro)
his Lo. expected victualls a daie or two for
the releafe of Marieborrough (a forte of
muche importaunce, but of contemptible
strengthe) in the Queenes Countie; to
whiche

whiche his L.o. newe hasted, not permitting
 other staine in his iournie, then necessarie
 gaue cause. Duringe the tyme the army
 encamped (May 14) by Woodstocke, the
 rebells attempted the stealing of some of
 our horses; whiche beinge perceaued by
 Sir Christofer St. Lawrence (sonne to the
 L.o. of Howthe) he passed by the Barre
 naked, and, folowed by his menne, re-
 kewed the prae, and retourned withe the
 heade of a rebell; aboue the same tyme,
 the rebell presented himself about 200
 strange, in the sight of the Castle Rebap
 (a howse of Capt. Leas, a myle from the
 armie) whiche, vpon sighte of the Earle of
 Sowthampton, who hasted towardes them
 in moste soldierlike order, withe a small
 troupe of horse and foote, retyred them-
 selues to there bogges, and from thence to
 there woodes; There the L.o. Greye, be-
 inge carried nearer to the rebell by heate
 of valour naturall to suche yeeres and no-
 bilitie (then was reasonable, and contrarie
 to the commaundmente of the Earle of
 Sowthampton, was, for his contempe, pu-
 nished

nished by the Lorde Leiuſetennaunte with a nyghtes imprisonment. So ſoone as his Lo. was provided of viſtualls he marched with his armie towardes the forte Marie-borrouge, in the Queenes Countie. In the waie, the rebell ſhewed himſelf by a paſſadge called Blaſkeforde ; throughe whiche my Lo. marched in ſuche excellent order, that it terrefied him not to attempt vpon anie parte of the armie, but to approche neare vnto the ſame. His Lo. haſinge viſtualled the forte, where he knyghted Syr Fra. Rushe, and encreaſed the gaſtron, lodged that nyght (May 17) at the foote of a verie high hill, called Croſhie Iuſſe (the Generall latelie of the province of Leinſter) wheare the rebell wonce in Rorie O More ſhewed himſelfe, with about 500 foote and 40 horſe, 2 myles from our campe, renewinge that nighte, and contynewinge the nexte morninge, a chalenge, whiche he had made a fewe daies before, to fight. ſome of his wiþe ſome of ours, wiþe ſwordes and targettes ; whiche was conſented vnto by his Lordſhippe, but the

the rebell never came to performe it. His Lordship havinge, from the top of Croft e Iutfe, viewed the countrie rounde aboue, and particularlie the waie of that daies iournie, led the armie towardes Cashell $\frac{1}{2}$ a myle from that nightes quarter. The nature of the passadge is suche: Thorough a thicke woode $\frac{1}{2}$ halfe of a myle longe, leadethe a highe waye, in moste places 10 goinge paces broade, whiche in the middest, was traversed withe a trenche, and the wood plashed on bothe sydes; from behind whiche the enimie might withe facilitie gaule oure menrie in their passadge. To the other too sydes of the woode are adjoyned too bogges, whiche serue the rebell for a verie sure re-treat from all force of our armie: But vpon an elevated pece of grounde betweene the woode and bogge, on the leste hande, was a villadge, from behinde whiche the rebell might fall in and returne to his strengthe. His I.o. to make his waie se-cure thorough this passadge, ordered his armie in this forte: The whole armie was devided into seven battailes; before the vauntgarde

vauntgarde marched the forfornē hope, confisinge of 40 shott and 20 shorte weapons, withē order that the shott shulde not deschardge, till thei presented theire peetes to the rebelles breastes in their trenchies; and that fuddamēlie the shorte weapons shoulde enter the trenches pell mell, vpon either syde of the vauntgarde (whiche was obserued in the battaile and rearēgarde) marched wynges of shott, enterlyned withē pikes, to whiche were sente secondes withē as muche care and diligence as occation required. The baggadge and a parte of the horse marched before the battaile; the rest of the horse fell in before the rearēgarde, excepte 30, whiche, vnder the condūcte of Sir Heneric Dauers, made the retreate of the whole armie. Theis goinge to the release of Capt. Morrisham, who was ingadged by the rebell, thei repelled him without any other losse, than that Sir Alexander Rattcliffe hadd his horſſe shott in the heade of the troupe. The vauntgarde, followed by the other partes of the armie, havinge by provident marche gayned

the

the ende of the passadge (where discouered
it selfe a larde champion) was commaunded
to make alt, vntill the horfie, and whatlo-
euer was vnproufitable in the straite, were
aduanced to the plaine. This was the
order (as I haue harde) appointed by the
Lo. Leiuftennaunte; which beinge not
obserued in all partes of the armie with
like diligence, there were loste by follie
Capt. Gardner and Capt. Boswell, with
some 3 private menne. His Lp. was that
day in no place (that is, in euerie place)
flyinge like lighteninge from one parte of
the armie to an other, leadinge, directinge,
and folowinge the vauntgarde, battaile, and
rearegarde. The deathes of our Captaines
were revenged by our quartermen and
scoutemen, who accompanied with diuers
Gentlemen, slew 7 of the rebels, whiche
assaid to force the quarter; of whiche
were Alexander Donnell, a Gentleman,
and Donnel Knogger of base burthe, but
for the proofe of his daringe and skill, of
especiall esteeme with Tyrone. In this
confiict, Edmonde Bushell, Gent. Vther

to his Lp. receaued a hurte in the breaste with a pike. The daie folowinge (May 19.) the Lo. Leiusetennaunte, obseruinge the former order of marche, ledd his menne thorough the passadge called Ballia Raggatt, where we founde the rebelles so fewe in nomber, and so timerous in attemptinge, as their behaviour (on the 20th) prooved that the order of the other daies marche was terrible vnto them. Theis passadges thus ouercome, to the no small terror of the rebell, and admiration to the soldiers, his Lo. came to Killkennie, where he was receaued with as muche ioye of the cittizens as coulde be exprefſed, either by liuelie orations, or silent strewinge of the streetes with hearbes and rushies. To Clonmell (on the 24th) his Lp. was well welcomed, to the like ioye of the people, and with a Lattin oration, or rather a dialogue, wherein the awthor had adiured his Lp. concerninge the establishinge of peace in Irelande; whiche beinge deliuered in vnfitt termes his Lo. reprooved, proteftinge his antipathie concerninge matteres

ters of iustice: to moderate whiche, hir sacred Maiestie hadd giuen him bothe sworde and power. The daie after (the 25th) the Castell Darenclare, whiche had longe tyme offended the cittizens of Clonmell in their traffique by the ryver of Suire to Waterford, yeilded to his Lps. mercie. In the middest of the river of Suire lyethe an isleland the fame a naturall rock, and vpon it a Castell, whiche, althoughe it be not builte with anie greate arte, yet is the site suche by nature, that it maie be said to be inexpugnable: Of this Castell, which is called Cahie, is the Lo. of Caire entituled Baron; whiche beinge helde by Iames Buttler, his younger brother, the L. Leiuf. sent the Lo. of Caire to parle with him; and with him Sir Henerie Dauers, whome he adiured, duringe the parlie, to vnderstante as muche as he myghte the nature of the place: Who retourninge with the Lord of Caire (weill satisfied that his brother woulde not yeild vpp the Castell) related the site and strengthe of the Castell to be suche as is mentioned. This night his

Lordship reviewed the place himselfe in person. and caused the same to be done by the Lord Marshall and Serieaunt Maior, commaunding that after a diligent reviewe, the approaches, takinge the advauntadge by waie of olde ditches and walls, shoulde that nighte be remoued to the wall of the counter scarpe: One daie beinge intermitted, without dooinge anie thinge, for want of th'artillerie. whiche coulde not arriue in shorte, the same beinge onlie drawen by the force of menne. There passed a daie or two. before the batterie was commenced. The same nighte that the batterie was planted (May 28) his Lordship sent the Lord Marshall and Serieaunt Maior, withe 200 menne, to occupie a garden whiche adioyned to the Castell, vpon the sowthe weste parte. Althoughe the paffadges to this garden were fuche, that a verie small nomber mighte haue made fronte to an armie, yet did theis beastes firſte quite that place, and presentlie after, theie abandoned the Castell, excepte 8 persons; to the releife of whiche were ſente, earlie in the morninge,

morninge, 100 kearne by the White
Knighte. In the begininge of the nighte,
(May 29) Sir Christofer St. Lawrence was
fente, withe 300 kearne menne, to possesse
an isleland whiche liethe from the Castell
northeaste (not more than hargabushe shott)
and to breake vpp too bridges; one of
whiche leadethe from the isleland to the
maine, and the other from the same isle-
land to the Castell. The rebels (on the
30th) seeinge themselues, in the morninge,
secluded from that releefe whiche thei
howerly expected from Desmonde, and
from the White Knightes, at nighte thei
conveyed themselues (withe muche stillnesse)
owte of the Castell, whiche yet beinge per-
ceaued by our gardes, theie fell prefentlie
to execution, and entered aswell the Castell
without resistaunce as direction; by whiche
accident was repossest for his Maiestie,
withe the slaughter of 80 rebels, one of
the strongest places by nature that is in Ire-
lande, or that can be imadgined ells where.
Duringe this fiedge, Capt. Brett was shott
in the bodie withe a hargabushe, as was also

Capt. George Cariethorouge bothe cheekes and thoroouge the bodie, the bullett enteringe aboue the lefte shoulder, and passing thoroouge the opposite arme hole; whiche hurtes were more then miraculoues, for that there were onlie 3 shott made, and his bodie in all other partes covered with an armor of muskett proof. Theis 2 worthe Captaines, hauinge in this fledge, as in manie other places, made honorable proofes of theire vertue, lefte, within a fewe daies, the example thereof to be admyred of all, but to be imitated of fewe, and thei themselfues departed to a happier life. His Lordship hauinge (May 31) repaired the breaches of the Castell, and lefte suche a garrison in the same as muste annoie the fronteringe rebell (his sickemen beinge sente to Clonmell) he aryved by easie iournies at Lymmericke, where he was enterteined with two Englishe orations; in whiche I knowe not whiche was more to be discommended, wordes, composition, and oratorie, all of them havinge theire particular excellencies in barbarisme, harshenes, and rustical

rusticat bothe pronouncinge and action.
The armie, whiche hadd endured muche,
aswell by fowle waies as by vnseasonable
weather, beinge well refreshed by the re-
lease it receaued from Lymmericke, was
conducted by his Lordship to Adare, a ru-
inated abbeie ; in whiche villadge his Lord-
ship lodged a regiment of foote, Paffinge
the same daie (June 4) ouer the river Adare,
ouer a narrow bridge, which was well per-
ceaued by the rebell Desmonde and Lacie ;
who never made a shew to prohibit the pa-
fadge, althoughe theire hadd (not muche
more then musket shott from the same) a-
bout 12 foote vnder 5 Ensignes and 2 Cor-
nettes of horse, either appearinge at least
to be a 100. Theire were trained in fight
of our armie, devided from it by an vn-
fordable river and a bogge ; but in such
disorder, that it rather seemed a morrice
daunce, by there trippinge after there
badge pipes, then anie soldierlike exercize ;
theire conveyinge themselues (after a while
in a ringedaunce into the woode whiche
theire hadd close at there backes, and from
whiche

whiche theie haue not departed farther at
anie tyme, since our armie entered Moun-
ster, then an old hunted hare dothe from
hir couert for releefe. Early in the morn-
inge, the armie passed the riuer, and
marched towardes a passadge $\frac{1}{2}$ a myle from
Adare, whiche hadd on either syde a woodde,
but vnder that on the right hande a bogge,
by the heade of whiche extended it selfe
the woodde on the lefte hande ; the passadge
laie ouer the bogge, whiche was verie de-
ficiente bothe for maine naturall strengthe
whiche we founde in the same, and for pil-
lages made that morninge by the rebell.
At the enteraunce into the passadge be-
tweene the wooddes, the dexter winges be-
inge not so farr advaunced as the forlorne
hopes; his Lordship (beinge in the heade
of his troupes to direc \mathfrak{t} e them) had deli-
uered vpon close at hande, and from rest
a volley of at leaste 100 shott, whiche
were instauntlie repelled by some troupes
whiche his Lordship caused to be drawen
forthe of the vauntgarde. commanded that
daie by the Earle of Thomounde : His
Lordship,

Lordship, havinge with the losse of more
 then an 100. without anie losse of his owne,
 putt the rebell to retreate on that parte,
 possessed himselfe of the passadge, placinge
 on either syde a regiment to assur the same;
 and, that done, returned to give order to
 the rearegarde, where he was in like dan-
 ger as before in the vauingarde, ouerco-
 minge the same with the like order, but
 not altogether with so muche slaughter.
 The rebell thus repelled by the prudence
 of his Lordship, the whole troupes marched
 throughe the passadge, not alone without
 losse, but without anie difficultie: On the
 leste hande of the passadge was Plunkett
 lodged, who with 300 rebels (makinge
 shewe that daie, and with an ecchoe in the
 woode, with the reporte of 30 or 40 shott)
 was constrained the nexte daie to giue
 pledges to Desmonde for thassurance of
 his feithe: From the passadge his Lordship
 conducted his armie to the Castell Asche-
 ton, whiche was then somethinge distressed
 by the rebell, who intercepted the passadge
 in such sorte as, vntill the tyme it coulde

not

not convenientlie receaue anie relieuf from Lymmericke. from whence it was nowe
vittualld by his Lordship, the rebell neither
hinderinge his Lordship to passe nor repasse
his armie ouer the river of Doile, vpon
whiche Ascheton is scituate, where a small
nomber might haue made heade to a copious troupe ; nor indeuoringe anie notable
offence, in anie place where theire might
haue prooued theire force with the muche ad-
vauntadge : His Lordship (as I conieecture,
to give the rebell an inexcusable provocation) diuerted his iournie towards the Castle
Conon in countie of Korke, Desmondes
cheife howse. In the waie paffinge be-
tweene woodes (harde by Phemters towne)
which flanqued the armie on either syde
within musquett shott, his Lordship, per-
adventure to lett the rebell knowe the vir-
tue of his menne, and theire weaknesse,
enterteined skaramouche with the them in
theire owne strengthe, forcinge them to
abandon the same, withoute other losse,
then that Sir Henerie Norrice, presentinge
a chardge with the his troupe of horſe, hadd
his

hadd his legge broken with a shott; the
 whiche, to prevente the laste euil, or ra-
 ther the firste, enterauance into garde was
 cutt of. a fewe daies after, at Killmallocke:
 He endured the same withe extraordinarie
 patience. His Lordship, accordinge to
 his custome, findinge himselfe in euerie
 place of action, was this daie in as muche
 danger as anie private man: So was like-
 wise the Earle of Sowthampton in muche
 danger, expeſtinge perpetuallie in the heade
 of the troupe (all the tyme of the ſkara-
 mouche) opportunitie to chardge the rebell:
 The Lord Greye, havinge that daie the
 vauntgarde of horſe, gaue chardge, withe
 12 of his horſe, to as manie of the rebels,
 forcinke them into the woodes to their foote.
 There dyed of the rebell clan Donnell, and
 one of the Burghes, bothe Commaunders;
 onlie of ours Capt. Ienninges, Sir Henerie
 Norrice beinge, by reporte, certainelie re-
 couered as is alſo Fra. Markam, a Gent.
 of knowne valor, who hadd his righte
 cheeke pearced withe a bullett (June 16)
 The ſame daie that the armie paſſed by Caf-
 tell

tell Connor, was the same enterteined in Skaramouche from the skirte of a road called Banno Coulaghe by Mac Carties menne, where Sir Henerie Dauers (indeuoringe to saue certaine stragglers that indiscreetlie hadd ingadged themselues) was shott in the face, the bullett passinge to the roote of his lefte eare, where it still resteth, but without anie annoaunce, he beinge alreadie perfectlie recouered. Desmonde, insteade of defendinge his Castell, raced the same; by whiche, thoroouge his whole countrie, the armie marched without anie ofence, althouyhe he might haue presented himselfe in our waie in places of exceedinge aduantadge; so that, without anie impeachment of the rebell, his Lordship arriued, on the 22d (notwithstandinge greate bragges by Desmonde) vnfoughte withall at Waterforde, wherc his Lordship was receaued withe two Latin orations, and withe as muche ioyfull concourse of people as anie other towne of Irelande: Duringe his Lordships aboade in Waterforde, the importaunce of the plan requiringe the same,

on

on the 23d, he reviewed with the carefull diligence the harborrough, as also the forte Don Canon, whiche garde the same; the site and fabricature of whiche declare Sir John Norrys (by whose approbation that was chosen, and then allowed) as iudicall an ingineer, as his other artes haue ennobled him for a worthie fouldier. For the syte, it is so ouertopped by a imminent height not distant from it more then 150 paces) that no mann can stande firme in the piazza of the forte; and as for anie arte of fortification, whereof the forte should participate, and wherbie skilfull ingineers are accustomd to render places more defensible, I shoulde thinke the same (submittinge yet my censure to the comptrolement of more experienced judgments) an insufficent intrenchment, and consequentlie a most defectiue fortresse; as wholie shelter affordethe ferme lodginge under it to an enimie, coveringe him from all offences of the parrapett, and yet not the same raised to suche height as maie secure the defend-

Auntes in the *strata coperta*; whose ditch
 are lowe and narrowe and shalowe; whose
 ramparte and parrapett are lowe and flen-
 der; whose defences are *a forbici* and a
 burba; and, that whiche is worse, their
 correspondence hindred by the cassamata
 in the diche, whose piazza is narrowe, aff-
 fordinge no place for retreate, when the
 ramparte whiche is shall either be beated
 or topped; all whiche misfortunes are
 founde in that parte of the forte whiche re-
 gardethe the nauie. The parte of the
 forte towardes the wafer, althoughe it hath
 not so manie defectes as the former, ye
 hathe it as grosse errors as anie are men-
 tioned. The 2 plateformes beinge both
 of them so skante that theie are not alon
 capable of suche a nomber of peeces a
 might serue to command the water, bu
 that thei whiche are there haue not suffi-
 ent place for there recoyle: The defecte
 of whiche plateformes are futed withe au-
 fverable parapettes, whiche beinge flende
 and of stone, thei promise (insteade of se-
 curitie

curtie) deathe to as manie as shall, in tyue
of necessarie, presente themselues to de-
fence.

villadges; all whiche (and only whiche) Lordship caused, in despite of him, to be consumed with fire, on June 30. About three miles from Arthloe, the armie to passe a forde, where the enimie presented himselfe in our waie, with the opinion as maiest be conjectured, if not to prohibit yet to trouble the armie in the passaunce. The skaramouche was for one halfe hour maintained, either parte contending the forme; the other, by freshe forces borrowed from their grosses whiche they hadd at hande. The Lord-Lieutenant thinkinge to inclose the rebell betweene horse and foote, commaunded the Lord Sowthampton (who was now passinge forde) to take the first opportunitye chardge; but the rebell (whose dreade of our horse causeth them to obserue gentle all their motions) perceavinge Earle of Sowthampton to aduaunce with his troupes, retyred himselfe into strengthe, a parte of them castinge away their armes for lightnes, whiche yet

, cap

caped not altogether the execucion of the Lord Lefuſetenaunt, who directed the foote in that parte. The rebell was to paſſe in his strengthe thorough two ſmall fieldes in- cloſed; thorough the end of the ſeconde of whiche laie a horſe waie vnto a neighbour wood. His Lordſhip, invited by the opportunity of the place, commaunded

, an Iriſh Commaunduer of horſe, to chardge, who committed a double error; the one, that he ſent out xx or 30 of his troupe before the reſte, whiche might haue broken the rebells, and haue receaued his firſte volley: The other, that, for aboue 18 ſhott that were deliuered upon his troupe, he turned head, when his trumpet ſounded a chardge: giving liſe to more then 200 rebells that ſtood at his mercy. In the meane while, whiles theiſ things were in hande, the whole troupe were paſſed the ſands, and his Lordſhip beganne to contynew his marche towrades Ardgroe; layinge in a viliadge vpon the waie an ambuſcade of aboue 40 horſe,

whiche mighte cutt of the rebell, &c.
(whiche his Lordship most iudicially suppo-
sed he shoulde approache to offend the
reare: But the rebell (who is not easlie
surprised by ambuscado) either perceavinge
or suspectinge deceipt, made an alt with
his two troupes, whiche appeared to be
about 800 foote and 50 horse (a nomber
whiche, howsoeuer it seeme contemptible,
yet is it sufficient to fighte, in the strengthes
of the countrie, withe 50 suche armes as
ours.) His Lordship, perceavinge the re-
bells stay, rallied his horse to there place;
and, the countrie beinge to apparaunce
plaine and ferme champion, the whol
armie seemed to promise to it selfe securitié,
and the rebell not presuminge every man
attended only to hasten to the quarters in
a speedie marche, wherebie the armie was
distracted into an excessive lengthe, and
broughte therebie (aloughue into no dis-
order) yet into some vnreadynes. Whiles
the armie marched, his Lordship (nothinge
beinge more famylier vnto him then to ob-
serue

setue the order of his owne troupes in there
marche) ascended for this purpose the topp
of a hill, whose height discoverethe the
whole plaine, and, perceavinge from thence
that the rebell prepared to giue vpon the
reare of the fynifter winge of the vaun-
garde, led by Marmaduke Constable, En-
signe to Capt. Ellys Jones, he commaunded
the Lord of Sowthampton (to whom ga-
thered suddainly a few straglinge horse) to
haste to there succor. In the meane tyme,
while the Lord of Sowthampton was occu-
pied in the assuringe of the seate, and en-
devoringe to drawe the rebell (whiche held
him in his strengthe) vpon ferme grounde,
the Lorde Leifetennaunt, not attended
vpon by more then 6 or 7 horse, presented
a chardge to the rebels grosse of horse and
foote, whiche was nowe makinge towards
the Earle of Sowthampton, whom theie
fawe to be ingadged, and to be vpon a
grounde disadvantadgious for horse; but,
perceavinge the resolucion of the Lord
Leifetennaunt, who constantly expected
them

them vpon the syde of a bogge, whiche laie betweene him and them, thei made an alt; aboue whiche tyme, the Lord Spowthamton, hayinge encreased the nomber of his horse to aboue 24, seeing it lost tyme to indeuor to drawe the vermyne from thare strengthe, resolued to chardge them at all disaduauntadge; whiche was performed wiþe that suddainenesse and refolcion, that the enimie, whiche before was dispersed in skaramouche, had not tyme giuen him to putt himselfe in order; so that, by the opportunitie of occasion taken by the Earle, and virtue of them that were wiþe him, (whiche were almoste all noble) there was made a notable slaughter of the rebells; such as escaped from theire grosse were intercepted from theire grosse (so whiche theire laboured to retyre) by our foote, sente thither by the Lo. Leaufeternaunt in releiuse of the horse; manie of whiche, by the too mucche forwardnes of the ryders, were there imbogged; by whose infortunate deaþe Capt. Cayen, whose industry

dustry hadde adorned him withe muche
 bothe science and languadge, dyed in the
 plane; and Capt. Constable, after a dou-
 ble wounde, saved himselfe by his owne
 virtue. That whiche the foote did in this
 parte was not leſſe glorious then that of the
 horse, theiſe beinge a flaunde made by Sir
 Henrie Pore, Capt. Courtney, and En-
 signe Conſtable, wiþe 100, againſte (at
 leſte) 400 rebells: But that whiche hinderd
 the comminge downe of the rebells was the
 preſence of the Lo. Leiuſetennaunt, who
 ſtoode in a place fitt to offend bothe by
 direction and nomber, havinge a little be-
 fore ioyned vnto him the rearewarde of
 foote and horse. The rebells, Donogh
 Hispanoh and Phelim M^c Pheoghe, mooved
 either wiþe the ſlaughter of theires, where-
 of dyed more then a 100 (five of whiche
 were Commaunders); or terrified wiþe
 the order, redineſſe, and virtue of our
 menne, whiche drewe theiře rowte, and
 defyred Sir Th. Davers, who that daie
 commaunded the rearegarde of horse, to
 come

come out vnto his Lordship, vpon preceſſion
 whiche his Lordship denied, as a couſe
 vniſt for rebells, refuſinge to receaue them
 vpon other terms then vpon ſubmiſſion to
 her Majesties mercie. The nexte day fo-
 lowinge (July 1) his Lordship vewed the
 place, whiche (ſome weekea before) Phelim
 M^c Reoghe, with 400 foote and 150
 horſe (on a plane of unspeakable aduaun-
 adge to our menne) hadd overthrownen Sir
 Hen. Harington, Knight, who had with
 him 450 foote and 60 horſe. Thicke whiche
 eſcaped by flight, or by base hydinge of
 themſelues from the force of the rebelleſ
 ſwordes, were by a Martiall Courte con-
 demnaed (on the 3d) to be hanged on the
 gallowes; whiche ſentencē was mittigated
 by his Lordships mercie, by whiche euerie
 30th man was ſentenced onlie to die; the
 reſte appointed to ſerue in the army for
 pioneers.

Thus is my dyſcourse, guided by the
 ſpots-ſteppes of viatorious and ſuccesfull
 iourneys,

journeys, retorne as it were, in a circular revolution; but Dublin, his firste periode, where the Lord Leistennant nowe remaynethe, meditatinge, as it is thoughte, a seconde iourneie. If in this relation I have committed anie thinge of note, or noted anie thinge superfluous, either error is ignorance, neither iudgment. my purpose beinge to discouer breifflye the iourneie, without either amplifyinge small accidentes, or detractinge from well deseruinge persons, whiche, for theire satisfaction, as manie as knowe me will beleue; and, as for the reste, I desire not to knowe them.



*Letter to Mr. SUTTON, the Founder
of the Charity Institution of the
Charter-house School, occasioned
by a Report that Sir John Haring-
ton had endeavoured to make his
Court to King JAMES, by saying,
that Mr. Sutton would leave his
great Fortune to Duke CHARLES,
who was afterwards King of Eng-
land, if the King (James) would
create Sutton a Baron, and secure
thereby the Estate to the Duke of
York.*

S I R,

YOUR strange message, first by my man, after by my son, now seconded with your speech to myself, did greatly trouble me. That I have undone you, overthrown your estate, disturbed your designs; that no man dare buy any land of you, be your seofee, nor take any trust from



from you ; so as that which you had ordained to good uses, and to redeem your sins, was now so incumberd, as you were scant master of your own ; and all by means of a bruit among your friends, raised as you suppose by me, That you have made Duke Charles your heir, and the King your executor.

Far be it from me to abuse or mis-report either so princelie and pious an intention, as I know his Majesty hath to further all good works, or so godlie a purpose, as you intend to do some ; but God cannot be mocked, though we may dissemble with men. The letter is still extant which was my warrant. I have spoken nothing but within compass of that, and that very sparingly to your private friends ; in which letter seeing you yourself would needs in your sense read a caveat to refuse honour because of age, which, in my construction, was an encouragement to take the honor due to your abilities and years ; I have been since, and will be silent about it. For

the suit you would make to his Majesty, which I will not so much as guesst at, I will say what I thinke, you will make no suite, but such as will find favor and expedition, and, seeing you suppose I wronged you before, I would be glad to make you amends now by any endevor of mine: Only, my old friend, you may not forget to be a benefactor to Bath church in your life-time; for alms, in one's life, is like a light borne before one, whereas alms after death is like a candle carried behind one.

Do somewhat for this church, you promised to have seen it 'ere this; whensoever you will go to Bath, my lodgings shall be at your commandmente; the bath's would strengthen your sinews, the alms would comfort your foul.

The tower, the quire, and two isles, are all-ready finished by Mr. Billett, executor to the worthie Lord Treasurer Burleigh; the walls are up ready for covering.

The

The lead is promised by our bountifull Bishop, Dr. Montague; timber is promised by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Hartford, the Lord Say; Mr. Robert Hopton, and others.

There lacks but money for workmanship, which if you would give, you should have many good prayers in the church now in your life-time, when they may indeed do you good, and when the time is to make friends of the mammon of iniquity, as Christ bids us, that we may be received into everlasting tabernacles, to which God send us, to whose protection I leave you, &c.

From Greenwich, this
13th of June, 1608.

JOHN HARINGTON.

*To Sir HUGH PORTMAN, Knight.**My honoured Friend,*

I Humblie thank you for that venison I did not eat, but my wife did it much commendation. For six weeks I left my oxen and sheep, and venturd to Court, where I find many lean kinded beastes and some not unhorned. Much was my comfort in being well received, notwithstanding it is an ill hour for seeing the Queen. The madcaps are all in riot, and much evil threatend. In good soote I feard her Majestie more than the Rebel Tyrone, and wishd I had never received my Lord of Essex's honor of knighthood. She is quite disfavourd, and unattird, and these troubles waste her muche. She disregardeth every costlie cover that cometh to the table, and taketh little but manchet and succory potage. Every new message from the city doth disturb her, and she frowns on all the Ladies. I had a sharp message from her brought by my Lord Buchurst, namely thus,

thus, " Go tell that witty fellow, my god-
 " son, to get home; it is no season now to
 " foole it here." I liked this as little as
 she dothe my knighthood, so tooke to my
 bootes and returned to the plow in bad wea-
 ther. I must not say much even by this
 trustie and sure messenger, but the many
 evil plots and designs hath overcome all
 her Highness sweet temper. She walks
 much in her privy chamber, and stamps
 with her feet at ill news, and thrusts her
 rusty sword at times into the arras in great
 rage. My Lord Buckhurst is much with
 her, and few else since the city busines; but
 the dangers are over, and yet she al-
 ways keeps a sword by her table. I ob-
 tained a short audience at my first coming
 to Courte, when her Highness told me; if
 ill counsel had brought me so far from
 home, she wishd Heaven might marr that
 fortune which she had mended. I made
 my peace in this point, and will not leave
 my poor castle of Kelston; for fear of
 finding a worse elsewhere, as others have
 done. I will eat Aldborne rabbits, and

get fish as you recommend from the man at Curry-Rival, and get partridge and hares when I can, and my venison where I can; and leave all great matters to those that like them better than myself. Commend me to your Ladie and all other Ladies that ever heard of me. Your books are safe, and I am in liking to get Erasmus for your entertainmente.

From *Kelston*, Oct.
9. 1601.

JOHN HARINGTON.

I coud not move in any suit to serve your neighbour B. such was the face of things, and so disorderd is all order, that her Highnes hathe worne but one change of raiment for many days, and swears much at those that cause her griefs in such wise, to the no small discomfiture of all about her, more especially our sweete Lady Arundel, that *Venus plus quam venusta*.—

To

To Sir HUGH PORTMAN, Knight.

1598.

My good Friend,

I HAVE been to visit at the house which my Lord Treasurer dothe occupy at the Bathe, and found him and another cripple together, my cosen Sir John Harrington of Exton; when it grieved me to see so much discretion, wisdom, and learning in peril of death. My Lord doth seem dead on one side, and my cosen on the other, though both in their health were ever on one side. It gave me some comfort to hear their religious discourse, and how each did despise his own malady and hold death in derision, because both did not despair of life eternal. The Treasurer asked me if I had any ailment, and smiled to see me look gravely at their serious talk. I wished them all benefit, and that the waters might wash away all their deadnes, save that to iniquity, which would still hold them both unto death; my cosen said,

“ You

" You are not dead to good works, for even
" now this churche doth witnes of your
" labour to restore it to its ancient beauty."

In good sooth we want good men who būild
unto the Lord to forward this work ; and
many indeed have passed assurance of such
helpe. Her Highnes doth much lament
her good servants malady ; my Lady Arun-
del came with earnest suit from Court,
touching the Treasurers state, and did
bring an excellent cordial for his stomach,
which the Queene did give her in charge ;
and said that she did intreat Heav'n daily
for his longer life. Else would her people,
nay herself stand in need of cordials too.
If I may venture thus much, it seemeth as
though this good man had little else to do on
earth than die.

I have not got what you do so much covet
from me, nor can I hitherto obtain an au-
dience from the Bishop on such account ;
but you shall hear further in good time, as
my own busines doth yet stand unmoved,
and giveth me matter of disquiet. The
Lord

Lord Treasurers distemper doth marvelously trouble the Queen, who saith, that
 " her comfort hath been in her peoples hap-
 " pines, and their happiness in his disre-
 " tione ;" neither can we find in ancient re-
 " cord such wisdom in a Prince to discern a
 servants ability, nor such integrity to re-
 " ward and honour a Princes choice—*Quando*
ullum inveniat parem? I rest in good hope of
 seeing your Lady and such branches of olive
 as may adorn your table, before Christmas
 next ; and may they bring you more peace
 than the branches which adorn your neigh-
 bour Hattons brows ; but—*levius fit patientia,*
et conjugem corrigere est nefas.

JOHN HARINGTON.

What other news doth happen I will
 bear with me at my coming.

To

1609.

*To Prince HENRY.**Most noble and honoured Sir,*

I HERE sende by my servant such matter as your Highness did covet to see, in regard to Bishop Gardener of Winchester, which I shall sometime more largely treat of, and lay at your feet. I may truly say, this Prelate did persecute me before I was born; for my father was by his command imprison'd in the Tower for eleven moneths, for only carrying a letter to the Princess Elizabeth; and my mother was taken from her presence, and obliged to dwell with Mr. Topcliff, as an heretic. My poor father did send many petition to the Bishop, but in vain, as he expended one thousand pounds to get his liberty. Nor had they any comfort but their consciences to beguile this affliction, and the sweet wordes and sweeter deeds of their Mistress and fellow prisoner. But, not to rail only, I will inform your Highness what old Sir Matthew Arundel was wont to say, touching these times—

times—that Bonner was more to blame than Gardener, who used to call him as, and other scurvy names, for dealing so cruelly by honest men. I was moved to say so much against this judgment, that Sir Matthew said, my father ought to have lain in prison much longer, for sending such a saucy sonnet to Gardener; in truth it was not over civil, but after fair wordes ill taken, such deeds are not foul; and, considering those unrefin'd times, the poetry* is not badly conceived: As your Highness may judge in due season, when I bring it before you, and here have sent no ill written letter to beg mercy of the Bishop; of which my father gave me copies, with many others in his own justification. In humble consideration of your Highness favour and countenance,

I remain, to all commande,

JOHN HARINGTON.

The

* This poetry is printed in the first volume, in the life of Bishop Gardiner.

The picture of Lady Elizabeth, our late glorious Queen, was printed from a copper, graved by a most skilful artist, and given by her as a token of her affection to my mother; which I send your Highness as it was thought to be of rare workmanship, as it is cut in metal, which few did then ever attempt to do.



*To the Bishop of WYNCHESTER.**My Lord,*

THYS myne humble prayer dothe come
 wyth muche sorrowe for anie deed
 of evil that I have done to your Lord-
 shippe ; but, alaſſ ! I knowe of none, save
 ſuche dutie to the Ladie Elizabethe as I
 am bounden to paye her at all times : And,
 if thys matter breedethe in yow ſuche
 wrathe towardes her and mee, I ſhall not
 in thys myne impryfonmente repente there-
 of. My wyfe ys her fervante, and dothe
 but rejoice in thys owr miserie, when we
 looke wiþe whome we are holden in bond-
 age. Our gracious Kynge Henrie did ever
 advaunce our families goode estate, as did
 his pious father aforetyme ; wherefore our
 fervyce is in remembraunce of ſuche goode
 kyndneſſe. Albeit there needethe none
 other cauſe to render our tendance, fythe
 the Ladie Elizabethe beareth ſuche pietie
 and goodlie affection to all virtue. Con-
 ſyder that your Lordſhippe aforetyme hath

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H combatede

combatede with muche lyke affliction:
 Whye then should not our state cause yow
 to recounte the fame, and breede pity to
 uswarde. Myne poore Ladie hathe greater
 cause to waile than wee of suche small de-
 gree, but her rare example affordethe com-
 forte to us, and shameth our complaynte.
 Why, my good Lorde, must I be thus an-
 noyde for one deed of special good wyll to
 the Ladie Elizabethe, in bearynge a letter
 as was sente from one that had such ryghte
 to gyve mee his commande, and to one that
 had such ryghte to all myne hartie farvyce.
 Maie God inclyne yow to amende all thys
 crueltie, and ever and anon turne our
 prayer in goode and mercyfull confydera-
 tion. My Lorde Admyrale Seymor did
 trulie wynn my love amydst his harde and
 deadlie annoyance: Now, maie the same
 like pitie touche yowr harte, and deal us
 better usage. Hys farvyce was ever joy-
 ful, and why must thys be so afflyngne.
 Myne auncient kyndred have ever held
 their dutie and leige obeyfaunce, nor wyll
 I doc them suche dyshonour as maie blot
 out

out their worthie deeds, but wyll ever abyde
in all honestie and love; if yow should
give eare to myne complaunte, it wyll
bynde me to thankfullie repaie thys kynd-
nesse; but, yf not, will contynue to suffer,
and reste ourselves in God, whose mercie
is sure and safe; and in all true love to her,
who dothe honoure us in tender sorte, and
scornethe not to shedde her teares with
oures. I commende youre Lordeshippe to
God's appointemente, and reste sorely af-
flietede,

From the *Towre*,

JOHN HARYNGTON.

1554.



H 2

Sir

Sir JOHN HARINGTON *to his Lady,*
Dec. 27th, 1602.

Sweet Mall,

I Herewith send thee what I woud God none did know, some ill bodings of the realme and its welfare. Oure deare Queene my royale god-mother, and this states natural mother, dothe now bear shew of human infirmitie, too faste for that evil which we shall get by her dethe, and too slowe for that good which shee shall get by her releasement from pains and miserye. Deare Mall, how shall I speake what I have seene, or what I have felt; thy good silence in these matters emboldens my pen. For thanks to the swete God of silence, thy lips do not wanton out of discretions path like the many gossiping dames we coud name, who lose their husbands fast hold in good friends, rather than hold fast their own tongues. Nowe I will trusle thee with greate assurance, and whilste thou doste
broode

broode over thy young ones in the chamber, thou shalte read the doinges of thy greiving mate in the Cowrte. I finde some leffe mindfull of whate they are soone to lose, than of what they may perchance hereafter get: Nowe, on my owne parte, I cannot blote from my memories table, the goodnesse of our Sovereigne Ladie to me, even I will saie before borne, her affectione to my mother who waited in privie chamber, her bettering the stafe of my father's fortune (which I have alas so muchworsted) her watchings over my youthe, her likinge to my free speech, and admiration of my little learninge and poesy, which I did somuche cultivate on her commande, have rootede such love, suche dutyfull remembraunce of her princelie virtues, that, to turne askante from her condition withe tearlesse eyes, woud staine and foule the springe and founte of gratitude. It was not manie daies since I was bidden to her presence; I bleste the happy momente, and founde her in moste pitiable state, she

bade the Archbishope aske me if I had seene Tyrone? I replied with reverence, that I had seene him with the Lord Deputie; she lookede up with much choler and greife in her countenance, and saide, Oh, nowe it mindethe me that you was *one* who sawe this manne *elsewhere*, and hereat she droppedpe a teare, and smote her bosome; she helde in her hande a goldene cuppe, whiche she often put to her lippes, but in soothe her hearte seemethe too fulle to lacke more fillinge. This fighte movede me to thinke on whate paste in Irelande, and I truste she did not lesse thinke on *some* who were busier there than myselfe. She gave me a message to the Lord Deputie, and bade me come to the chamber at seven o clocke. Hereat some who were aboute her did marvel, as I do not holde so highe place as those she did not chuse to do her commandes. Deare Mall, if I gette no profitte, I shall gette some envie, and this businesse maye turne to some accounte with the Lorde Deputie. Her Majestie enquirede

quirede of some matters whiche I had written, and as she was pleasede to note my fancisulle braine, I was not unheedfull to to feede her humoure, and reade some verses, whereat she smilede once, and was pleasede to saie, when thou dolste feele creepinge tyme at thye gate, these foolerries will please thee lesse ; I am paste my relishe for luche matters ; thou seest my bodilie meate dothe not suite me well, I have eaten but onc ill taftede cake since yesternighte. She rated moste grievouslie at noone, at some who minded not to bringe uppe certaine matters of accounte ; several menne have been fente to, and when readie at hande, her Highnesse hathe dismisfede in anger ; but who, deareste Mall, shall faye, that "*youre Highnesse hathe forgotten.*"—I was honourede at dinner with the Archbischoppe and several of the Churche Pastors, where I did finde more corporeal than spiritual refreshmente, and though oure ill state at Cowrte maie, in some sorte overcaste the countenance of these apostolical

lical messengers, yet were some of them well anointed with the oyl of gladnesse on Tuesdaie paste. Hereof thou shalt in some forte partake, my Lorde of Salisburie had seizen his tenantes corne and haye, with fundrie husbandrie matters, for matters of money due to his Lordshippes estate ; hereat the aggrievede manne made suite to the Bishoppe, and requestede longer time and restitution of his goodes ; go, go, faithe the Bishoppe, I heare ill reporte of thie livinge, and thou canst not crave mercie ; thou comest not to Churche service, and haste not receivede confirmation, I comande thee to attend my ordinance and be confirmed in thy faithe at Easter nexte cominge. I crave youre Lordshippes forgivenesse, quothe the manne, in goode soothe I durste not come there, for as youre Lordshippe hathe lain your hande on all my goodes, I thinke it full meete to take care of my heade !—Suche was parte of oure discourse at dinner : So thou feest, swete Mall, although the Bishoppes hande

was



was heavy, oure pesantes head was not
weake, and his Lordshippe said he woude
forego his paymente.—Nexte monthe I
will see thie swete face, and kiss my boys
and maids, which I pracie thee not to omitte
on my accounte; sende me up by my
manne Combe my Petrarche. Adeiu, swete
Mall.

I am thyne ever lovinge,

JOHN HARINGTON.



To

Sir JOHN HARINGTON, *to the Lo
Treasurer BURLEIGH.**My worthie Lorde,*

IT affordethe me no small joye to hea
 Mr. Bellot, whom good fortune
 throw in my way at the Bathe, that y
 gouty disorder was growing to better
 mour; it is a plague, like the greedy
 rasite, the better fed. the longer guest;
 your Lordship dothe not invite the sta
 such friends by rich wines, or strong spi
 yet, like many others, it will come to y
 door, which shutteth against none. Y
 message to me for my budget of wit, is
 timed, I am very busye, yet very idle; y
 well, yet very ill; very merry, yet
 sad. Busy with my workmen, yet idle
 self, I write nought but long bills. Y
 in my body, but sick in my purse. M
 to think my house well nigh done, and
 to fay tis not well nigh paid for. In an
 book of my father's I read a merrie ve
 w^l

which, for lack of my own, I send by Mr. Bellot, to divert your Lordshippe, when as you say weighty pain and weightier matters will yield to quips and merriment. This verse is called The *Blacke Sauntus*, or Monkes hymne to Saunte Satane, made when Kynge Henry had spoylede their *fynginge*. My father was wont to say, that Kynge Henry was used in pleasante moode to sing this verse; and my father, who had his good countenance, and a goodlie office in his Courte, and also his goodlie Esther* to wife, did sometyme receive the honour of hearing his own songe, for he made the tune which my man Combe hath sent herewith; having been much skilled in musicke which was pleasing to the King, and which he learnt in the fellowship of good Maister Tallis, when a young man. Bishop Gardener woud not have liked him the better, had he known he was guilty of such jibes, which

* This Esther was a natural daughter of the Kyng's, to whom he gave as a dower the lands belonging to Bathe priory, or a part thereof.

which, perhaps, he had heard of too. Our work at the Bathe dothe go on *haut paffibus æquis*—we sometime gallop with good presents, and then as soon stand still, for lack of good spurring; but it seemeth more like a church than it has aforetime, when a man could not pray without danger of having good St. Stephen's death, as the stones tumbling about our ears, and it were vain to pray for such enemies. But now, to pray for our friends may not be ill taken on earth or in heaven. So may God give your Lordship all comfort, ease, and health of body, till he shall (*O dies procul esto*) receive your soul. If I ever pray'd better for myself, I become a greater sinner by so much of a lie, for I never did, nor ever will. In all dutie, I reste

Your humble Well-wisher,

Kelston, 1595.

JOHN HARINGTON.

To

The Monk's H

A musical score for three voices. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle staff is in bass clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The lyrics are in French, with the first two staves sharing the same melody and the third staff providing harmonic support. The lyrics are:

O Tu qui dans o_ra_cu_la
O Tu qui dans o_ra
O Tu

the greater or minister's cheek, best lip, or
Vol. II. I eye;



To



*romantic Letter, from a Miscella-
-nous Collection of Letters and
-etry in MS. dated 1647, by dif-
-ferent Authors; the following seems
-part of a longer Work, and is signed
-on the back JOHN HARINGTON,
-as POLINDOR, to his loving
-Letter ELIZABETH, Of the begin-
-ning of Love's Progress. From
-Eynbridge.*

WAS in the day of that sweet time
when the gaudy earth seems newly
ring with the fruits of Flora, and paints
young cheeks like a bride; when the
her lover smiles, and runs his nearest
fe to court her. Twas at the hour
the larks shrill waits called forth their
Morn; dropping her pearls like fas-
s on the gazing mortal. Such beau-
s morn more than the painted face
I admire; ah, gentle sister! beyond
the grace of mistress's cheek, best lip, or
OL. II. I eye;

eye ; then did I love the May flow'rs gaud-
ery, blind to the living beauties that dis-
pose the joyes of life. — One while I try'd
my bow, then, to beguile slow time, some
philosophic book holds dialogue ; then by
the curling brook lye down and muse ; till
again I tread in gambols ore the flow'ry
plain ; then sing, soft echo bearing part,
and seemed to say,—‘ Churl as thou art,
‘ that flouts fair beauty, and wantons with
‘ thine self delighted ; wise age may prove
‘ thy folly—Then wilt weep thee blind,
‘ when Cupid's justice pays thee back dis-
‘ dain.’—Thus pass'd the morn ; when lo !
a still small noise stole to mine ear ; whe-
ther a voice that sung, complained, or
what I knew not then, but 'twas a sound of
pleasure ; it seem'd so dandled by the ore-
joy'd air, that I was lothe to lose it ; I
hugg'd it close like mine ears jewel ; I lis-
tening went, yet softlier pacing, lest a hurt
leaf should broach complaint.—'Twas a
bower whence seem'd to float this musick of
lute and voice composed. Each sense was
now chain'd to the ear, and in sweet trans-
port

sport did I lie, conjuring the twilight shade
to favour the repose. Now with new joy
inflam'd to see those lips and hand that frame
such wondrous sounds; and thought she
must be fair whose voice and touch were
charming. Yet, gentle sister, did I say,
beware; fond youth, if, so enamour'd of
a voice, her eye may kill thee. Paeing
like the soft air, through every place I
darterd my quick sight, till one blest glance
solved my eyes longings; I spye'd a glorious
form. The woman, bravest prized, now
blouze-like woud appear. Nature's whole
stock was lavished here, and shee herself
undone. The sight woud move gods to
etoss arms, and be her suitors; and poor
weak mortals wonder into stone. She
seem'd a Vestal in attire, a cold and frozen
maid expos'd to that chaste curse, a single
life. She to the fount had stray'd, nought
fearing ambushd eyes, and there, gentle
sister, to the foot disrob'd. She shot new
light into those shades as though another
morn did rise with her. Eyes, colour'd
black, with pure life-stremaing ray, mock'd

the poor diamond's sickly blaze, and sham'd
 the eye of noon. Had fair Narcissus glan-
 ced his peerless self in this fond chrytal
 fount, well had the form itself adord, and
 for the mirror's sake the youth had died.
 Her forehead high-rais'd and even, spread
 like the sky majestic; it was the throne of
 state to beauty. 'This was the bair that
 feem'd to arraign each bold o'er sauty
 thought; and though she feign'd a frown,
 yet smil'd a lightning through it. Now did
 my new-world-wandring eye coast on her
 cheek; it show'd of purest colour, and
 there did lillies start, with bashful roses
 blending, 'neath the warm sunshine of her
 eye. Here did the graces loiter, and here
 woud lie Love's wag made wanton by her
 smile, tumbling himself. Then to her rare
 shap'd lips I bent a veiw; the cherry looks
 but pale, the ruby too. The praise of
 Gods woud wait their nectar, if they knew
 such heav'n preserves were yet untafted.
 So glow'd the blushing boy, lifting his burn-
 ing cheek from Venus' kiss ambrosial, nuz-
 zling to her breast. Her silken hair in
 many

many a bread, coronet-like, clove to her head; no gaudy tissue here nor wire of gold, which some fond poets gild their verse withal; 'twas brown, the noblest die, most comely sweet. Its top o'er-peering, a diamond phoenix shone, that seem'd Love's ambush, out which came braided strings for Cupid's bow. Next shew her breasts, so sweetly aspiring, as if they meant to suckle the babe Desire. I did suppose them the Love-god's mounts, where oft in wanton play he loses his random arrows. Were he again in his swaddling cloths, sure, gentle sister, he would have lain here cradled, and slumber'd on such down-felt pillows. Her arms, like twins, in loving-fold, play with each other; so lovely that all praise dispraises. Who woud not live a prisoner in such arms, and all his freedom give for so fair keepers? And shall they, cruel fate! embrace but one another! Her dainty curious hand Love's mother's self might envy. I saw the azure veins that shewd like purpling founts wandering ore white banks of billies. Sure nature's mold was lost when

these were made. Then did sweet Fancy
say, their touch divine coud raise a palsy
to its life, coud charm the gout into a gal-
liard, or stroak a panther tame. And now
(lower wading) was unveil'd her fine naked
waist; ebout it nougnt did hover but the
enamoured stream, and wreath'd its amorous
folds. So smooth, so dainty flap'd,
ah, happy they, such wealthy armfuls to
inclose, and zodiack that blissful world,
which circles more than the whole great
one. Thus, gentle sister, did I grow to
Love, and thus did Cupid from her eyc
split, till then, a heart of stone. Pity is
Heaven's glory, but what alas! can this
hope give? She is a Vestal vow'd, and says
she must not love. Go rather woo some
marble statue, love a tree, or court the
northern ice than she far, far more melting.
Those may echo some kind noyse,
and seem to mourn again; weep o'er the
adamant, 'twill surely pity more. Through
doubt and through desire do I burn and
freeze; I blame my stars with thanks I
talk unto the wand'ring wind, and fool it
with

with the echo. Am pleas'd with trees, lone rocks, and cells society. I kiss my chain; sweet hopes and fears convulsion my poor heart. I grow a man of all weathers, this hour lowring, smiling the next in sunshine of a honey shower. In brief, some heavens, but yet more hells do seize me; and nought is left my gentle sister, but to enjoy or die. Adieu.



Another

*Another Letter from J. H. dated
Cambridge, 1647, to his Sister,
being Part of the History begun
Page 85.*

THERE is a precious gift, a wondrous thing, my gentle sister, which the world doth bless, and prize it as the gem of heav'n, and 'tis intituled—Happiness. Each pining slave for this doth plod and sweat; from towers to thatch, from silk to leather, 'tis the prime minion of frail humanity; But most, alas! how blindly hurried to the wrong school, and call a fool for tutor! Reason disclaim'd, sheer fancy is their guide; like the deluded pilgrim straggling wide, and so become worse strays. We grasp but airy bl'sses, and thus, tarantula-stung, dye midst laughing fits. Since virtue only, Heav'n's choice offspring, does on her votaries the gift confer of a tenfold Indies. In Her we have an All. She gives the comfort, the nobler souls prime glory, the peace of a good action; she gently

gently does infuse the moderate mind that
 seeks but what's enough; and points the
 happy man, Prince of this medley world,
 crown'd—by himself! But, gentle sister,
 why talk I of happiness? Like to the cha-
 ced deer is that wretched lover, whose tra-
 vails nought but scorn discover; his fancy
 shews a wilderness which wild thoughts
 compose; the dogs that hunt him, Grief,
 Sorrow, and lean Despair, killingly fleet,
 too true, and bloody diligent. The shaft
 sheath'd in his side—Desire, wave-pointed
 with a flame! that heats the blood; at last,
 imbost with rage, the poor o'er-hounded
 wretch (far from the comforts of a cooling
 stream) with stag-like teats he falls,—Scorn's
 triumph and Love's sacrifice! And must I
 thus fall, my gentle sister!—Why then so
 coy, so dainty ride, my fair Flostella!
 When but to win one favour such a task
 doth prove, it were Herculean' labour.
 Tell me, Love! what though that dainty
 hand touch mine, woud it less fair be shewn,
 or lose its fashion, if once but kindly prest?
 Or say those daintier lips touch mine, aro-
 they

they impoverisht, or waste their delicates by often giving? The wanton air does in its hovering play still touch them, nay too the tawny ray of Phœbus. The fly may buzzing kiss, and touch unblamed those chose cherries—mine's no more. Reason I well, my sister?—And shoud she chide and frown; when I for charity do beg the alms of one sweet kiss? 'Twas never yet held sin for starvelings to crave meat, or to deny life's self, when you are ne'er the poorer. But why does fair Flostella thus still retreat, or why so long adjourn our day, but sheds the Greenland curse of loathsome long felt night? Why pore we on the clods of this poor dull creation, whilst she our gem is hid, and thus inshriners the longing blisses of mankind? Say, Did we too prophaneley flight the blessing of thy sight, or meanly rate it, when enjoy'd? If so, let angry absence make thee more reverenced. Or was it charity divine impell'd thee to thy prayrs, and kindly sue for our atonement; restore the fair example of that face, and we shall all be good. My gentle

gentle sister! she was not made for cloyf-
tring: The glorious lamps of heaven, the
wondrous seven that traverse in their spheres
like blazing pageants, were not to corners
thrust, but spread their glory to th' admiring
world. O purest maid! were it not
sometime wholesome to air thee through
the field or shade, when from some hill fair
map'd does lye a little Europe travel'd by
thine eyes keen veiw? May's sovereign de-
licious breeze might aid thyne cheeks, and
fan thy spicy breast to breath its purest
odour! How blest! when erst the kind in-
dulgent stars propitious shone on earth;
when, with sweet converse, and in evening
fair, the mildest age of day, we stole toge-
ther forth, beneath the sprinkling of the
suns kind ray; or else, when night sends
from the West the drowsy light of morn,
placed like a pause so sweet 'twixt aguish
chill and heat, we traversed some thick
gloom that seemd Love's maze designd;
when only strayd those harmless gales, that
dance the leaves with nicest play, and gent-
lest whispers seemd in sign of welcome.

How

How sweet, my gentle sister, 'twas to hear
 the jolly mirth that fill'd the warbling quire,
 by her so fair inspir'd ; when to the night-
 ingale's sweet throat, the shade's prime-
 songster, she in accordance joynd, it was
 the best of joys the ears capacity coud reach;
 and I in fancy found the All of Rapture.
 Rare, charming voice ! but O how rare,
 breath'd by Flostella, she so only fair ! whose
 face and body's beauties are composed with
 such according symmetry, and such the
 choice design of Heav'n, she passeth on the
 eye as Nature's silent harmony. Were ever
 yet so doubly blest both ear and eye ? Re-
 cord it, Love, 'twas only now—Each
 trembling note that died upon the sense, me-
 thought, was then embalm'd within so sweet
 a breath, it flying came, wrapt in a preci-
 ous air of odours, 'bove Arabian far ! If
 famed Orphean harp coud rivers cause to
 stand at wanton gaze and pause, or beasts
 and burly trees make dance in antic revelry,
 her voice might greater magic prove, and
 make them court her with resoluteless love.
 Sometime, my gentle sister, her fair creating
 hand



d gave life unto the sensless lute, and
 i delicious strains did so much sweeten
 enrich the air, that with new-warbled
 guage she did shame the great orbe's
 strelsy; Sight, smelling, touch, and
 were then all gone, and left the offi-
 is ear with me alone. The list'ning
 wd of happy nymphs or swains, that
 nced to catch this bliss, seemd in their
 to hold a glimpse of twilight life, and
 e like stones shaped for some monu-
 it, so whist and dead a silence reign'd,
 coming such sweet death. O let me
 expire and melt away to dissolution;
 Nature this way pay her debt of va-
 r-breath. Sweet-killing Stella ! thus
 the soul to stray to heaven, it were, my
 le sister ! to have heaven by the way.

Adeiu.

JOHN HARINGTON *to his Sister, on*
FLOSTELLA's Death, 1647.

YET once more list ! my gentle sister,
 list ! I that so late did chaunt my story
 forth to the kindness of thine ear !—A story
 that might claim the prime of glory in the
 Love-god's chronicle, and, whilst I told,
 seemed fallen in love again, it was so full of
 rapture ! now, now, must figh—farewell to
 all my joyes !—A fullen hout of doom
 broods with as horrid fight as midnights
 womb ere swelld with.—Is any shepherd's
 ear so deaf to fame, so used to tender bleat-
 ings,—that has not heard of fair Flostella's
 death ! Or any nymph to whom hath not
 arriv'd that funeral knell which groan'd this
 fair to earth and made all hearts congeal ?
 If such—thrice happy ye ! to whom's as
 yet unfelt distress'd Arcadia's loss, whose
 best beloved fair cloysters in the dust. Died
 she alone ? No, gentle syster ! Hundreds
 did seem to die in sorrow with her. The
 fun's

fun's self did go fast from her funerals, and night came on to bring her sables. A crew of goblins seemd to strike my sight, with such dire ceremony, and in such rueful guise, as each did solemnize its own departure. Crowd in mournful cypres we ushered on Death's march. Lo, on her *now* black bed, the *once* fair Stella lay, prepared, as 'twere, to bridals ; yet Death's arms embraced. Make to thy fancy's eye what then did seem thy brother—The slow-paced *I*—that *I*—the truest bulk of wretchedness ; o'er whose dim face such mere life damp was cast,—I seemd but ghost to that fair corps before. My torrent eyes bedrenchd their shore, and sighs so uttered out my woe, that I surpas'd in grief. The sister-virgins, dark-vaild like dooms day planets, their censors bore, bedeckd with mournful shreds of many a friendly herb to grief ; and thus we slowly paced in dire measure, ah, gentle sister, how unwilling ! to the sad place where she, fair slumbring nymph, is left to enrich the covetous earth.

K 2

Ne'er

Ne'er spake Sorrow more than now in silence.—All lookd their utmost, till lost the sight of her with whom all eyes seem buryd, and, blind to upper things, are following her in earth; as if, in spite of death, they still should find enjoyment. What tears! what kind adieus! They kissd the place, and, with a lingring look, all sighd—*Earth ne'er was richer gem'd.*

And now, my gentle sister, the world's fond pleasures but torment my soul; they are but the shades of mirth, which cannot wear away the slow-paced hours of consuming grief. Sometimes I tread to Folly's gaudy Court, and see the world in colours that might shame the cheek of Proteus, or the silken train of Flora's nymphs; each sex presents the jolly hour of careless glee, and tramples sorrow in the rounded dance: The fun confronting Iris ne'er spread such various hues. When time-beguiling Pleasure advances with her lustful trump, and blows the bold alarm, how frisks the sportfull



full soul, and hugs that syren in her twined arms ! Wonder not, gentle sister, that a soul like mine shoud ransack such unwonted ways—The wily fox by night, nor the dull owl by day, have searchd such places as myself. Doth not the widow'd turtle, lost to the faithful partner of her heart, stretch forth her feeble wing from coast to coast, in haunt of every path ! at last betakes her to the lonely bed. So let me progress ev'ry place that love or dear affection can contrive,—and then embrace a death for her in whom I cease to live. Fear not, my gentle sister, though danger doth surround me in the false shades of those' deceitful bowers—I search for mirth, and then I wooe the shades of sleep to ease my day of griping sorrow with a night's reprieve. Mark how the simple sheep, whose rambling steps do stray from the safe blessing of her shepherds eye, becomes the unprotected prey of night-howling wolves ; she frisks from bush to brake, and wildly flys, even of herself afraid ; she shrowds her troubled

brow in every glade, and craves its mercy
 with her tender plaint. May not then my
 wandring soul, that has thus lost her *good*
shepherd, be thus wilderd, and want Flo-
 tella's eye to lure her to the paths of virtue?
 Yet fear not, gentle sister, her tongue hath
 wrought such sweet persuasion in my heart,
 her hand unveild such beauty to mine eye,
 that faith shall ne'er renounce one sacred
 truth, though she herself shoud come and
 tell me it were false—Then let me sigh no
 more—my heart shall dance and frolick
 with you all—I'll tread your measures, and
 beat the foot of joy.—O tyrant Love, how
 doth thy sovereign power subiect the soul
 to more than imperial sway! They say thy
 cup's composed of sweet and bitter, of ho-
 ney mixed with gall:—How comes it then
 to pass these lips of mine still trade in bitter,
 nor can find a sweet?—Ye heavenly maids,
 —ye virgins of the blessed throng, restore
 my spirits faint and spent, for I am sick of
 love: Tuck up your silken laps, and fill
 ye with the fair wealth of Flora's magazine,
 the



the purple violet,—the pale faced lilly,—the lowly pink, and lofty eglantine ;—the blushing rose, the Queen of Flora's beauty :— Yet, above them all, let Jesse's sovereign flower perfume my qualming breast. Gentle sister, adieu, nor taste the melancholy of Polindor's soul,——

Till Heaven shouts to joy,

Sister, farewell!



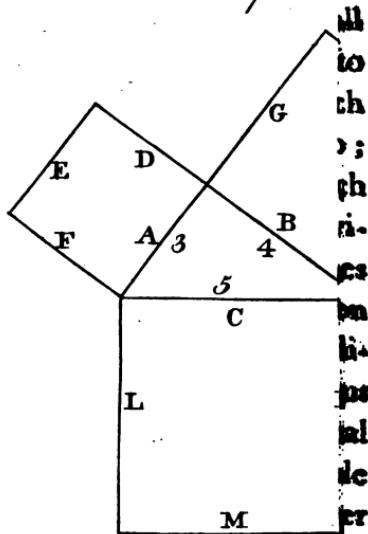
*A Letter from JOHN HARINGTON
to Mr. NEWTON, afterwards Sir
ISAAC ; with a Scheme of the Har-
monic Ratios.*

S I R,

AT your request I have sent you my scheme of the Harmonick Ratios adapted to the Pythagorean proposition, which seems better to express the modern improvements, as the ancients were not acquainted with the sesquialteral divisions, which appears strange. Ptolemy's Helicon does not express these intervals so essential in the modern system ; nor does the scheme of four triangles, or three, express so clearly as the squares of this proposition. What I was mentioning concerning the similitude of ratios, as constituted in the sacred architecture, was my amusement at my leisure hours, but am not master enough to say much on these curious subjects, The given ratios in the dimensions of Noahs ark, being



A Scheme of all the Harmonies demonstrated from the Golden Proposition



DEMONSTRAT.

KLMCC : KLMCB = 25 : 24 b. 2^d BA : CN
CML : IBGH = 15 : 16 b. 2^d B : AD

CML:1BGH = 15:16 b2- B:AD
CB:GM = 9:10 + a^d CB:GM^e =

CB : CM = 9 : 10 + 2nd CB : CM = 9 : 12

$$BG : BC = 8 : 9 + 2^a \quad C : BG \text{ pf}$$

BA : BG = 7 : 8 bb 3 A : C = 1

$$AD:AB = 6:7 + 2$$

$$C:AD = 5:6 \quad b \quad 3^d$$

$$B:C = 4:5 \pm 3^d$$

$$\begin{array}{l} B:C = 4:3 + 3 \\ B:A:CB = 7:0 \text{ } h 1^{\text{th}} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} CB:BGm \\ C:CB = \end{array}$$

BA : CB - 7 : 9 b4-
A : B - 7 : 1 1th C : CB - 10
B : C - 7 : 11

$$A:B = 3:4 \quad 4^{\text{th}}$$

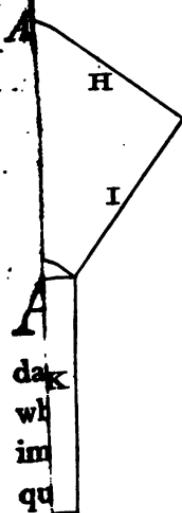
$$C:BA = 5:7 + 4^{\text{th}}$$

Q.E.D. ut

Q.E.D. ut

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Page 206.
Musical Intervals
in the System of Pythagoras. Euclid 4:7



dark
whi
im
qu

wh
do

in $4:7:10$ b 5^{th}
 $- 4:6$ b 5^{th}

of $B-9:14+5^{\text{th}}$
cle 5:8 b 6^{th}

$W^3:5+6^{\text{th}}$
 $B-12:7$ b b 7^{th}

sin $7:4++6^{\text{th}}$
sat H $-9:16$ b 7^{th}

mi $5:9$ b 7^{th}
 $L-8:15+7^{\text{th}}$

to G: CMLKC $-48:25++7^{\text{th}}$
giv

being 300, 50, and 30, do certainly fall in with what I observed; the reduction to their lowest terms comes out 6 to 1, which produces the quadruple sexquialteral ratio; and 5 to 3 is the inverse of 6 to 5, which is one of the ratios resulting from the division of the sexquialteral ratio; the extremes are as 10 to 1, which produce by reduction 5 to 4, the other ratio produced by the division of the sexquialteral ratio. Thus are produced the four prime harmonical ratios, exclusive of the diapason, or duple ratio. I have conjectured that the other most general established architectural ratios owe their beauty to their approximation to the harmonic ratios: and that the several forms of members are more or less agreeable to the eye, as they suggest the ideas of figures composed of such ratios. I tremble to suggest my crude notions to your judgment, but have the sanction of your own desire, and kind promise of assistance to rectify my errors. I am sensible these matters have been touched upon before, but

my

my attempts were to reduce matters to some farther certainty as to the simplicity and origin of the pleasures affecting our different senses; and try, by comparison of those pleasures which affect one sense from objects whose principles are known as the ratios of sound, if other affections, agreeable to other of our senses, were owing to similar causes. You will pardon my presumption, as I am sensible neither my years nor my learning permit me to speak with propriety herein; but, as you signified your pleasure of knowing what I was about, have thus ventured to communicate my undigested sentiments, and am, Sir

Your obedient servant,

*Wadham College,
May 22d, 1693.*

JOHN HARINGTON.

Mr.

Mr. NEWTON's *Answer to Mr. JOHN
HARINGTON, 1693.*

S I R,

BY the hands of your friend, Mr. Con-
sel, I was favoured with your Demon-
stration of the Harmonic Ratios, from the
Ordinances of the 47th of Euclid. I
think it very explicit and more perfect than
the Helicon of Ptolemy, as given by the
learned Doctor Wallis. Your observations
hereon are very just, and afford me some
hints which, when time allows, I would per-
sue, and gladly assist you with any thing I
can, to encourage your curiosity and la-
bours in these matters. I see you have
reduced, from this wonderful proposition,
the inharmonics as well as the coincidences
of agreement, all resulting from the given
lines three, four, and five. You observe
that the multiples hereof furnish those ra-
tios that afford pleasure to the eye in ar-
chitectural designs: I have, in former con-
siderations,

siderations, examined these things, and with my other employments would permit my further noticing thereon, as it deserves much our strict scrutiny, and tends to exemplify the simplicity in all the works of the Creator; however, I shall not cease to give my thoughts towards this subject at my leisure. I beg you to pursue these ingenious speculations, as your genius seems to incline you to mathematical researches. You remark that the ideas of beauty in surveying objects arises from *their* respective approximations to the simple constructions, and that the pleasure is more or less, as the approaches are nearer to the harmonic ratios. I believe you are right; portions of circles are more or less agreeable, as the segments give the idea of the perfect figure from whence they are derived. Your examinations of the sides of polygons with rectangles certainly quadrate with the harmonic ratios. I doubt some of them do not; but then they are not such as give pleasure in the formation or use. These matters
you

you must excuse my being exact in, during your inquiries, till more leisure gives me room to say with more certainty hereon. I presume you have consulted Kepler, Mersenne, and other writers on the construction of figures. What you observe of the ancients not being acquainted with a division of the sexquialteral ratio is very right ; it is very strange that geniuses of their great talents, especially in such mathematical considerations, should not consider that, although the ratio of three to two was not divisible under that very denomination, yet its duple members six to four easily pointed out the ditone four to five, and the minor tierce six to five, which are the chief perfections of the diatonic system, and without which the ancient system was doubtless very imperfect. It appears strange, that those whose nice scrutinies carried them so far as to produce the small limmas, should not have been more particular in examining the greater intervals, as they now appear so serviceable when thus divided. In fine, I am inclined to believe some general laws of

the Creator prevailed with respect to the agreeable or unpleasing affections of all our *senses*; at least the supposition does not derogate from the wisdom or power of God, and seems highly consonant to the macrocosm in general. Whatever else your ingenious labours may produce I shall attentively consider, but have such matters on my mind, that I am unable to give you more satisfaction at this time; however, I beg your modesty will not be a means of preventing my hearing from you, as you proceed in these curious researches; and be assured of the best services in the power of

Your humble servant,

May 30, 1693.

Is. NEWTON.

Letter

*Letter to Lorde Thomas Howarde,
from Sir I. H. 1603.*

MY LORDE,

TOUCHYNGE our matters here, and what hathe fallen oute fithence you departede, maye perchance not be unpleasante to you to heare. Manie have beene the mad caps rejoicinge at oure new Kynges cominge, and who in good trothe darede not haue set forthe their good affection to him a monthe or two agoe ; but, alas ! what availeth truthe, when profite is in queste ? Yow were true and leige bondsman to her late Highnesse, and felte her sweete bounties in full force and good favour. Nor dide I my poor selfe unexperience her love and kyndness on manie occasions ; but I cannot forbeare remembringe my dread at her frownes in the Iryshe affaire, when I followede my General, (And what shoude a Captaine doe better ?) to Englannde a little before his tyme : If Essex had met his appoyntede time, as Davide faithe, to die, it

L 3 had

had fared better, than to meet his follie and his fate too. But enoughe of olde tales ; a new Kyngē will have new soldiē, and God knowethe what men they will be. One faith he will serve him by daie, another by nyghte ; the women who love to talke as they lyke are for servynge him bothe daye and nyghte. It pleasethe me to thynke I am not under their commande, whoe offer so bountyfoullie what perchance they woulde be gladde to receive at others handes.—But I am a cripple, and not made for sportes in newe Cowrtes. Sir Robert Cary was prime in his Scottyshe intelli-gence of the Queenes deathe : Some will saye that bad tydinges travel faste ; but I maye call Sir Roberts no ill borden to Edenborrow.—St. Paul hathe saide, that *the race is not alwaie givene to the swyste.* I dowte Sir Robert will give the Sainte the lie, for he is like to get both *race* and *prize*, and as fame goethe, creepethe not a little into favoure. I am now settynge forthe for the countrie, where I will **read** Petrarch, Ariosto, Horace, and suchē wise ones.



ones. I will make verses on the maidens, and give my wine to the maisters; but it shall be such as I do love, and do love me. I do muche delight to meete my goode freindes, and discourse of getting rid of our foes. Each nighte do I spende, or muche better parte thereof, in counciell with the aunciente examples of lerninge; I con over their histories, their poetrie, their instructions, and thence glean my own proper conducte in matters bothe of merriamente or discretion; otherwyse, my goode Lorde, I neer had overcome the rugged pathes of Ariosto, nor wonne the highe palme of glorie, which you broughte unto me, I venture to saie it, namely, our late Queenes approbation, esteeme, and rewarde. Howe my poetrie maye be relishde in tyme to come, I will not hazard to saie. Thus muche I have livede to see, and in good foothe feel too; that honeste prose will never better a mans purse at Courte; and, had not my fortune been *in Terra firma*, I might, even for my verses, have daunced bare foot with Clio and her school-

followers until I did: sweat, and then have gotten nothinge to slake my thirste, but a pitcher of Helicons well.—E'en let the bearded God Apollo dip his own chin in such drinke, a haire of my face shall have better entertainmente. I have made some freindes to further my suite of favour with the Kynge, and hope you will not be slacke in forwardeing my beinge noticede in proper season; but my goode Lorde, I will walke faire, tho a cripple; I will copie no mans steps so close as to treade on his heel; if I go at all, it shall be verily uprightely, and shall better my selfe in thus saieing, *Sequar-fed passibus, equis.*—Nowe, my Lorde farewell, and truste his worde who venturethe to honour himselfe in the name of

Yours friende,

JOHN HARINGTON.

When you can fairely get occasion, I entreat a worde touchyng your doinges
at

at Cowrte ; I will pointe oute to you a
special conveyance, for in these tymes
discretion must stande at oure doores,
and even at our lippes too ; goode cau-
tion never comethe better, than when a
man is climbinge.—It is a pityfull thinge
to sett a wonge foote, and, insteade of
raisinge ones heade, to falle to the
grounde and shewe ones baser partes.



Sir

Sir JOHN HARINGTON to Sir AMI-
AS PAWLETT, 1604.

My Lovynge Cofene,

I behovethe me now to recite my Jour-
nal, respectynge my gracious commande
of my Sovereigne Prince, to come to his
closet; which matter as you so well and ur-
gentlie desyer to heare of, I shall, in such-
wyse as suitethe myne beste abilitie, relate
unto you, and is as followethe: When I
came to the presence chamber, and had
gotten goode place to see the Lordlie at-
tendants, and bowede my knee to the
Prince; I was orderde by a specyal mes-
senger, and that in secrete sorte, to waite
a whyle in an outwarde chamber, whence,
in near an houre waitinge, the same knave
ledde me up a passage, and so to a smale
roome where was good order of paper, inke,
and pens, put on a boarde for the Princes
use. Soon upon this, the Prince his High-
nesse did enter, and in muche goode hu-
mour askede if I was cozen to Lorde Ha-
ryngton



ryngton of Exton? (I humblie repliede,
 His Majestie did me some honour in en-
 quiringe my kin to one whome he had so
 late honourede and made a Barone; and
 moreover, did adde, wee were bothe bran-
 ches of the same tree. Then he enqui-
 rede muche of lernynge, and showede me
 his owne in suche forte, as made me re-
 member my Examiner at Cambridge afore-
 tyme. He soughte muche to knowe my
 advances in philosophie, and utterede suche
 profounde sentences of Aristotle, and suche
 lyke wryters, whiche I had never reade,
 and which some are bolde enoughe to saye
 others do not understand; but this I must
 passe by. The Prince did nowe preffe my
 readinge to him parte of a canto in Ariosto,
 praysede my utterance, and said he had
 been informede of manie, as to my lern-
 ynge, in the tyme of the Queene. He
 asked me what I thoughte pure witte was
 made of; and whom it did best become?
 Whether a Kynge shoulde not be the beste
 clerke in his owne countrie; and, if this
 lande did not entertayne goode opinion of
 his

his lernynge and good wisdome? His Majestie did much presse for my opinion touchinge the power of Satane in matter of witchcraft; and askede me, with muche gravitie, If I did trulie understande, why the Devil did worke more with anciente women than others? I did not refraine from a scurvey jeste, and even saide (notwithstandinge to whom it was saide) that we were taught hereof in Scripture, where it is tolde, that the Devil *walketh in dry places*. His Majestie, moreover, was pleasede to saie much, and favouredlye, of my good report for merth and good conceite; To which I did covertlie answier, as not willinge a subiecte shoude be wiser than his Prince, nor even appeare so. More serious discourse did next ensue, wherein I wantcde roome to continue, and sometime roome to escape; for the Queene his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His Highnesse tolde me her deathe was visible in Scotlande before it did really happen, being, as he said, spoken of in secrete by those whose power of fighthe presentede to them



them a bloodie heade dancinge in the aire.
He then did remarke muche on this gifte,
and saide he had soughte out of certaine
bookes a sure waie to attaine knowledge of
future chances. Hereat he namede many
bookes, which I did not knowe, nor by
whom written ; but advisede me not to con-
sult some authors which woulde leade me
to evile consultlations ; I tolde his Majef-
tie, the power of Satan had, I muche
fearede, damagede my bodilie frame ; but
I had not farther will to cowrte his friend-
shipe for my soules hурte. We nexte dis-
coursede somewhat on Religion, when at
lengthe he saide : Now, Sir, you have seen
my wisdome in some sorte, and I have
pried into yours. I praye you, do me juf-
tice in your reporte, and, in good season,
I will not fail to add to your understand-
inge, in suche pointes as I maye find you
lacke amendmente. I made courtesie
hereat, and withdrew downe the passage,
and out at the gate amidst the manie uar-
lets and Lordlie servantes who stoode a-
rounde. Thus you have the historie of
your

your neighbours highe chauice and enter-
tainement at Cowre; more of which
matter, when I come home to my tyme
dwellynge, and talk these affaires in a cor-
ner. I muste preffe to silence hereto, as
otherwyse all is undone. I did forget to
tell, that his Majestie muche asked me
concerninge my opinion of the new wod
Tobacco, and said it woud, by its use, in-
fuse ill qualities on the braine, and that
bernedeman ought to taste it, and without
it forbidden. I will nowe forbeare further
exercife of your tyme, as Sir Rossers
man waiteþe for my letter to beare to you
from

Yours olde Neighbour,

Friend, and Coyne,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Copy

*Copy of a LETTER from Sir JOHN
HARINGTON to PRINCE HENRY,
Son to KING JAMES I. concern-
inge his DOGGE.*

MAY it please your Highnesse to accepte
in as goode sorte what I nowe offer,
as hath done aforetyme ; and I may saie *I
pede faughte* ; but, havinge goode reason to
thinke your Highnesse had goode will and
likinge to reade what others have tolde of
my rare Dogge, I will even give a brief
historie of his good deedes and straunge
feats ; and herein will I not plaie the curr
myselfe, but in goode foothe relate what is
no more nor lesse than bare verity. Al-
thowgh I mean not to disparage the deedes
of Alexanders horse, I will match my
Dogge against him for good carriage, for,
if he did not bear a great *Prince* on his
back, I am bolde to saie he did often bear
the sweet wordes of a greater Princesse on
his necke. I did once relate to your High-
nesse after what sorte his tacklinge was
wherewithe he did sojourn from my house

at the Bathe to Greenwiche Palace, and deliver up to the Cowrte there such matters as were entrusted to his care. This he hathe often done, and came safe to the Bathe, or my howse here at Kelstone, with goodlie returnes from such Nobilitie as were pleasede to emploie him; nor was it ever tolde our Ladie Queene, that this messenger did ever blab ought concerningge his highe truste, as others have done in more special matters. Neither must it be forgotten as how he once was fente with two charges of sack wine from the Bathe to my howse, by my man Combe; and on his way the cordage did slackene, but my trus-
tie bearer did now bear himselfe so wisely as to covertly hide one flasket in the rushes, and take the other in his teethe to the howse, after whiche he wente forthe, and returnede with the other parte of his burden to dinner: hereat yr Highnesse may perchance marvele and doubte, but we have livinge testimonie of those who wroughte in the fieldes and espiede his worke, and now live to tell they did muche
longe



longe to plaie the Dogge and give stowage
 to the wine themselves ; but they did re-
 strain, and watchede the paffinge of this
 whole businesse. I neede not saie how
 muche I did once grieve at missinge this
 Dogge, for, on my journiee towardes Lon-
 donne, some iidle pastimers did divorce
 themselves withe huntinge mallards in a
 ponde, and conueyd him to the Spanish
 Ambassadours, where in a happie houre
 after six weekes I did heare of him ; but
 suche was the cowrte he did pay to the
 Don, that he was no leſſe in good likinge
 there then at home. Nor did the house-
 holde listēn to my claim, or challenge, till
 I rested my ſuite on the Dogges own
 proofes, and made him performe ſuch feats
 before the Nobles asſembled, as put it paſt
 doubt that I was his Maſter. I did ſend
 him to the halle in the time of dinner, and
 made him bringe thence a pheasant out of
 the dish, which created much ſurprize, but
 much more when he returnede a ſhort time
 after, and ſet the ſame pheasant by commandment
 to the table again, and put it ſafely
 in the ſame cover. Herewith the compa-
 ny

nie was well content to allow me my *claim*, and we bothe were well content to accepte it, and came homewardes. I coud dwell more on this matter, but *jubes renovare dolorem*; I will now saie in what manner he died: As we traveld towardes the Bathe, he leapede on my horses necke, and was more earneste in fawninge and courtinge my notice, than what I had observed for time backe; and, after my chidinge his disturbinge my passinge forwardes, he gave me some glances of such affection as moved me to cajole him; but, alas, he crept suddenly into a thorny brake, and died in a short time. Thus I have strove to rehearse such of his deedes as maie suggest much more to yr Highnesse thought of this Dogge. But, havinge faide so muche of him in prose, I will say somewhat too in verse, as you may finde hereafter at the close of this historie. Now let Ulysses praise his Dogge Argus, or Tobite be led by that Dogge whose name doth not appear; yet coud I say such things of my **BUNGEY**, for so was he styled, as might shame



shame them both, either for good faith, clear wit, or wonderful deeds; to say no more than I have said of his bearing letters to London and Greenwiche, more than an hundred miles. As I doubt not but your Highnesse woulde love my Dogge, if not my selfe, I have been thus tedious in his storie; and again saie that, of all the Dogges near your father's Courte, not one hath more love, more diligence to please, or less pay for pleasing, than him I write of; for verily a bone will contente my servante, when some expecte greater matters, or will knavishly find oute a bone of contention.

I nowe reste your Highnesse friend in all service that maye suite him.

JOHN HARINGTON.

P. S. The Verses above spoken of are in my book of Epigrams in praise of my Dogge BUNGEY to Momus. And I have an excellente picture curiously limned to remaine in my posterity.

Kelstone, June 14, 1608.

M 3

Sir

Sir JOHN HARINGTON to Mr. Secretary BARLOW, 1606.

My good Friend,

IN compliance with your asking, now I shall you accept my poor accounte of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King came, and from the day he did come untill this hour I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such forte, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as woud have astonisht each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two Royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table; I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English Nobles, for those, whom I never cou'd get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The Ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to



to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the Parliament did kindly to provide his Majestie so seasonably with money, for there hath been no lack of good livinge ; shews, sights, and banquetings from morn to eve. One day, a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon his Temple and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or, as I may better say, was meant to have been made, before their Majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others.— But, alas ! as all earthly thinges do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentment hereof. The Lady who did play the Queens part did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties ; but, forgetting the steppes arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesties lap, and fell at his feet, tho I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion, cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His Majestie then got up and woud dance with the Queen of Sheba ; but he fell down and humbled

humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state ; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen which had been bestowed on his garments ; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, or fell down ; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear, in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity : Hope did assay to speak, but wine renderd her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the King would excuse her brevity. Faith was then all alone, for I am certain she was not joyned with good works ; and left the Court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the Kings feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed : In some sorte she made obeysance and brought giftes, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which heaven had not already given his Majesty ; she then returnd to Hope and Faith,

Faith, who were both sick and spewing in the lower hall. Next came *Victory*, in bright armour, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his hand; and, by a strange medley of verification, did endeavour to make suit to the King; but Victory did not triumph long, for, after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the anti-chamber. Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremost to the King; but I grive to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming. I have much marvilled at these strange pageantries, and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our Queens days; of which I was sometime an humble presenter and assistant; but I neer did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have now done; I have passed much time
in

in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise or food. I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the Gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on, hereabout, as if the Devil was contriving every man shoud blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devaftation of time and temperance. The great Ladies do go well-masked, and indeed it be the only shew of their modesty, to conceal their countenance; but, alack, they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at ought that happens. The Lord of the manor is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvelously please both Kings with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britains, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself. I wish I was at

at home:—*O rus, quando te aspiciam?*—And I will, before the Prince Vaudemont cometh. I hear the uniting the kingdoms is now at hand; when the Parliament is held, more will be done in this matter. Bacon is to manage all the affair, as who can better do these State jobs. My cosin, Lord Harington of Exton, doth much fatigue himself with the Royal charge of the Princess Elizabeth, and midst all the foolery of these times, hath much labour to preserve his own wisdom and sobriety. If you would wish to see howe folly dothe grow, come up quickly; otherwise, stay where you are, and meditate on the future mischiefs of those our posterity who shall learn the good lessons and examples helde forthe in these days. I hope to see you at the Bathe, and see the gambols you can perform in the hot waters, very speedily; and shall reste your assured friend in all quiet enjoyments and hearty good affections,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Sir

shewe hir wysdome fullie; for, Who did chuse to lose hir confidence; or, Who woude wythholde a shewe of love and obedience, when their Souereign said it was their own choice, and not hir compulsion? Surely she did plaie well hir tables to gain obedience thus wythout constraint; again, she coude putte forthe suche alteracions, when obedience was lackinge, as lefte no doubtynges whose daughter she was. I saie thys was plain on the Lorde Deputyes cominge home, when I did come into hir presence; she chaffed muche, walkede fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage; and, I remember, she catched my girdle when I knceledc to her, and swore, ‘ By Gods Son, I am no Queen, that MAN is above me;—Who gave him commande to come here so soon? I did fende hym on other busynesse.’ It was longe before more gracious discourse did fall to my hearynge; but I was then put oute of my trouble, and bid go home. I did not stay to be bidden twise; if all the

Iryshe

Iryshe rebles had been at my heels, I shoude not have had better speede, for I did now flee from one whom I both lovede and fearede too. Hir Highnesse was wont to soothe hir rufflede temper wyth readinge every mornynge, when she had been stirred to passion at the Council, or other matters had overthrown hir gracious disposition. She did much admire Seneca's wholesome advisinges, when the souls quiet was flown awaie; and I saw muche of hir translating thereof. By art and nature together so blended, it was difficulte to fynde hir right humour at any tyme. Hir wifēt men and beste Counsellors were oft sore troublede to knowe hir wyll in matters of State: So covertly did she pass hir iudgemente, as seemede to leave all to their discreet managment; and, when the busynesse did turn to better advantage, she did moste cunningly commit the good issue to hir own honor and understandinge; but, when ought fell oute contrarie to hir wyll and intente, the Council were in great straite to defende

their owne aëtinge and not blemyfhe the Queens goode iudgmente. Herein hir wyfe men did oft lacke more wysdome; and the Lorde Treasurer woude ofte shew a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well knowyng the difficulte parte was, not so muche to mende the matter itfelfe, as his Mistresse's humor; and yet he did moste shew hir favour and good wyll; and to his opinion she woude oft-tyme submit hir owne pleasure in great matters. She did keepe him till late at nyghte in discoursinge alone, and then call oute another at his departure, and try the depthe of all arounde hir sometyme. Walsingham had his turn, and each displaied their witte in pryvate. On the morrowe, everye one did come forthe in hir presence and discourse at large; and, if any had dissembled withe her, or stood not well to hir advyfinges before, she did not let it go unheeded, and sometymes not unpunishede. Sir Christopher Hatton was wont to saye the Queene did fishe for mens souls, and had so sweet a baite, that no

one

one coude escape hir network. In truthe, I am sure hir speeche was such, as none coude refuse to take delyghte in, when frowardness did not stand in the way. I have seen her smile, soothe with great semblance of good likinge, to all arrounde, and cause everie one to open his moste inward thought to her; when, on a sudden, she woud ponder in pryvate on what had passed, write down all their opinions, draw them out as occasion required, and sometyme disprove to their faces what had been deliuered a month before. Hence she knew every ones parte, and by thus fishinge, as Hatton sayed, she caught many poor fish, who little knew what snare was laid for them. I will now tell you more of hir Majestys discretion and wonder-working to those about her, touchyng their myndes and opinions. She did oft aske the Ladies around hir chamber, If they lovede to thinke of marriage? And the wife ones did conceal well their liking hereto, as knowing the Queenes judgment in this matter. Sir

Mathew Arundels fair cosin, not knowing so deeply as hir fellowes, was asked one day hereof, and simply said she had thought muche about marriage, if her father did consent to the man she lovede. You seem honeste, I faithe, said the Queen; I will sue for you to your father.—The damsel was not displeased hereat; and, when Sir Roberte came to Cowrte, the Queene askede him hereon, and pressede his consentinge, if the match was discreet. Sir Roberte, muche astonied at this news, said he never heard his daughter had liking to any man, and wantede to gain knowledge of hir affection; but woude give free consente to what was moste pleasinge to hir Highnesse wyll and advyse. Then I will do the rest, saith the Queen. The Ladie was called in, and the Queen tould her father had given his free consente. Then, replied the Ladie, I shall be happie, and please your Grace. So thou shalte, but not to be a foole and marrye. I haue his consente given to me, and I vow thou shalte

shalte never get it into thy possession. So go to thy busynesse. " I see thou art a bolde one to owne thy foolishnesse so readilye." I coude relate manye pleasante tales of hir Majesties outwittinge the wittiest ones, for few knew how to aim their shaft against hir cunninge. We did all love hir, for she said she loved us, and muche wysdome she shewed in thys matter. She did well temper herself towards all at home, and put at variance those abroad ; by which means she had more quiet than hir neighbours. I need not praise her frugality ; but I wyll tell a storie that fell oute when I was a boye ; She did love riche cloathynge, but often chid those that bought more finery than became their state. It happenede that Ladie M. Howarde was possesede of a rich border powderd wyth golde and pearle, and a velvet suite belonginge thereto, which moved manie to envye ; nor did it please the Queene, who thoughte it exceeded her owne. One daye the Queene did fende privately, and got
the

the Ladies rich vesture, which she put on herself, and came forthe the chamber amonge the Ladies; the kirtle and border was far too shorte for her Majesties heighth; and she askede every one, How they likede her new-fancied suit? At lengthe, she asked the owner herself, If it was not made too short and ill-becoming?—Which the poor Ladie did presentlie consente to. ‘ Why then, if it become not me, as being too short, I am minded it shall never become thee, as being too fine; so it fitteth neither well.’ This sharp rebuke abashed the Ladie, and she never adorned her herewith any more. I believe the vesture was laid up till after the Queenes death. As I did bear so much love towarde hir Majestie, I know not well how to stop my tales of hir virtues, and sometimes hir faults, for ‘ nemo nascitur sine—,’ saith the poet; but even her errors did seem great marks of surprizing endowments: When she smiled, it was a pure sun-shine, that every one did chuse to baske in, if they



they could ; but anon came a storm from a
sudden gathering of clouds, and the thun-
der fell in wondrous manner on all alike.
I never did fynde greater shew of under-
standinge and lerninge, than she was bleste
wyth ; and whoever liveth longer than I
can will look backe and become *Laudator
temporis acti*. Yet too will I praise the pre-
sent tymes, or I should be unmindfull of
many favours receivede from manie handes.
Nowe will I trye to stop, and give your pa-
tience a breathinge-time from my Historie ;
but the subiect of the Letter wyll excuse
my tedious reciting. I write from wonder
and affection. I have nowe passed my
storms, and wishe for a quiet harbour to
laye up my bark, for I growe olde and in-
firme. I see few friendes, and hope I have
no enemies. So nowe adieu, good cosin,
and read my tale which I penned of our
marches, ambuscades, culverins, and such-
like matters ; which if it give you no more
pleasure in the readynge, than it did me
in

in the enduringe, I muste thinke it a forry
tale trulye.

I reſte your lovyng Cofin,

JOHN HARINGTON.

Send me Petrarche by my man, at his
returne.



Letter



*Letter from Sir JOHN HARYNGTON,
to Prince HENRY, 1609.*

Moste Noble Prince,

IT was sometyme since your wyll that I should sende unto you suche scraps and fragments of witte and poesie as I mighte from my poore braine; but as respecte is due to Crowned Heads, and as soche sholde be honorede before clownishe heads, I have here sente to your Highnesse a prettie verse, made by that unfortunate, and yet in his godlinesse I wist moste fortunate, King, Henrie the Sixthe; it hath often caused much grieve to thinke on the perilous stafe of that goode Kinge, not forgetting to remark how he framed his lyfe to meet his death. I met with this verse in a book of my grandfathers writing, whose father was so moche in the trobles and warres of York and Lancaster, as to lose all his landes for being a Commander on the

the wrong side, and among the traitors, if so I may say ; and yet thus saith a Poet :

Treason dothe never prosper, What's the reason ?
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it Treason.

But this is not King Henrys verse. My ancestor Sir James Haryngton* did once take prisoner, with his party, this poor Prince ; for which the House of York did graunt him a parcel of lands in the northern counties, and which he was fool enough to lose again, after the battle of Bosworth, when King Henry the Seventh came to the crown ; and methinks I feel his follie to this tyme, for, on forfeiture of twenty-five rich manors, it was time for our house to travel to southward, where, if they brought no landes, they found some more from the goodnesse of Henrie the Eight. The verse I did mean to presente your Highnesse wyth is as doth now followe, and well suiteth

* The Grant of Lands for this Service is given in the latter part of this volume, dated 1464.

eth the temper and condition of him who made it :

“ KINGDOMEs are but cares;
State ys devoyd of staie;
Ryches are redy snares,
And hastene to decaie.

“ Pleasure ys a prystie prycke
Wich vyce doth styll provoke;
Pompe unprompt; and fame a flayme;
Powre a smouldryng smoke.

“ Who meenethe to remoofe the rocke,
Owte of the slymie mudde,
Shall myre hymselfe, and hardlie scape
The swellynge of the flodde.”

oe much for poor King Henries verse ;
Id nowe take, if your Highnesse will ex-
eise it some of his prose : For I find writ-
n under this, in the same hand, the fol-
wing sentences ; and no doubtē they were
ot given as his without good credit and
oundes :

VOL. II.

O

“ Patyence

" Patyence ys the armore and conqueste
of the godlie: Thys merytythe mercie;
when cawflesse ys soffered sorrowe."

Nouge els ys warre bote furie and mad-
nesse, whereyn ys not advyse bote rash-
nesse; not ryghte bote rage rulethe and
raignethe.

HENRIE.

And none so trulie coud speake thus as
our poore Author, under his piteous im-
prisonment, his bloody kingdom, his dis-
tressd kyndred; from all whiche God hath
now most marvelously freed and delivered
these realmes. As I have thus given your
Highnesse a short ensaime of Royal poe-
tric, I will not in haste forsake the matter,
and descend from high to low; but will now
ventre to send to your readinge a special
verse of King Henry the Eight, when he
conceived love for Anna Bulleign. And
hereof I entertain no doubt of the Author,
for, if I had no better reason than the
rhyme, it were sufficient to think that no
other

other than such a King could write such a sonnet; but of this my father oft gave me good assurance, who was in his household. This sonnet was sung to the Lady And at his commandment, and here followeth:

THE eagle's force subdues eache byrd that flies;
What metal can resynt the flaminge fyre?
Dothe not the sunne dazzle the clearest eyes,
And melte the ice, and make the froste retyre?
The hardest stones are peircede thro wyt tools;
The wysest are, with Princes, made but fools.

Thus have I given your Highnesse another ensample of Royal poetrie ; nor, if time did serve, or your time woud permit, shoud I omit some prettier verses of our late Princeffe, of blessed remembrance ; but enow at this time. I have complied with your requeste, and sente my Ariofto, for your Highnesse entertainment, humbly suing for some special marke of your approbation in returne, from the hand and

heade of that Prince who claymeth th
dutyful obeysance and unequalled estima
tion of

His honoured Servant,

JOHN HARINGTON.



Sir

Sir JOHN HARINGTON to Dr. JOHN
STILL, the Bishoppe of BATHE
and WELLES. 1603.

My Worthie Lorde,

I HAVE liyed to see that damnable rebel
Tir Owen broughte to Englande, cur-
teauslie favourede, honourede, and well
likede: Oh my Lorde, What is there
which dothe not prove the inconstancie of
worldlie matters! How did I labour after
that knaves destruction! I was callede
from my home by hir Majesties commaund,
adventurede perils by sea and lande, endur-
e fleshe at Munster; and all to quell that
man, who nowe smilcthe in peace at those
that did hazarde their lives to destroy him.
Essex tooke me to Irelande, I had scante
tyme to putte on my bootes, I followede
withe good wyll, and did returne wyth the
Lorde Leutenant to meet ill wyll; I dide
beare the frownes of hir that fente me;

and, were it not for hir good lykinge, rather than my good deservynges, I had been sore discountenancede indeede. I obeyede in goinge wythe the Earle to Irelande, and I obeyede in comynge wythe him to Englande? But what did I encounter thereon? Not his wrathe but my gracious Soveraigns ill humour. What did I advantage? Why, trulie, a knyght-hood; whych had been better bestowede by hir that sente me, and better sparede by him that gave it. I shall never put out of remembraunce hir Majesties displeasure; I enterd her chamber, but she frownde and saiede, "What, did the foole brynge you too? Go backe to your busynesse." In soothe, these wordes did sore hurte hym who never hearde soche before; but Heaven gave me more comforte in a daie or twoe after; hir Majestie did please to aske me concernynge our Northerne jorneys, and I did so well quite me of the accounte, that she favoured me wyth such discourse that the Earle hymself had been



been well glad of. And now dothe Tyr-Owen dare us old Commanders wyth hys presence and protection. I doubte not but some State busynesse is well nighe begunne, or to be made out; but these matters pertain not to me nowe. I muche feare for my good Lord Grey and Raleigh. I hear the plot was well nighe accomplayfhe to disturb our peace and favour Arabella Stuart, the Princes cousin: The Spaniardes beare no good wyl to Raleigh, and I doubt if some of the Englyshe have muche better affectione towarde hym. God delyver me from these defyngs. I have spokene wyth Carewe concernyng the matter; he thynkethe ill of certaine people whome I knowe, and wylshethe he coude gaine knowledge and further infspeccione hereof, touchyng those who betrayede thys busynesse. Cecil dothe beare no love to Raleigh, as you well understande in the matter of Essex. I wylte not that he hathe evyl defygn, in pointe of faithe or relygion. As he hathe ofte discoursede to me wyth moch kernyng, wyl-
dom,

dom, and freedome, I knawē he dothe somewhat dyffer in opynyon from some others; but I thynke alsoe his hearte is welle fixede in everye honeste thyng, as farre as I can looke into hym. He seemethe wondrofule fittede, bothe by arte and nature, to serve the State, especiallje as he is versede in forain matters, his skyll therbyn being alwaiers estimable and prayse-worthie. In relygion, he hathe showne, in pryuate talke, great depehe and goode readynge, as I once experyencede at hys owne howse, before manie lernede men. In goode trothe, I pitie his state, and doubte the dyce not fairely thrown, if hys lyfe be the losyngē stake; but hereof enowe, as it becomethe not a poore countreye Knyghte to looke from the plow handle into policie and pryyacie; I thanke Heavene, I have been well nighe driven heretofore into narrowe straits amongste State rocks and sightles dangers; but if I have gained little profitte and not moche honoure, I have not adventured so far as to be quite funken

funken hereyn; I wyll leave you all now to synke or swym, as seemethe beste to your owne lykinge; I onlie swym nowe in oure bathes, wherbyn I feel some benefyt and more delyghte. My lamenes is bettered hereby, and I wyll shortlie set forwarde to see what goethe on in the citie, and prie safelie amonge those that truste not mee, neither wyll I truste to them; newe Princes begete newe lawes, and I am too well ftrycken in yeares and infirmties to enter on newe courses. God commend and defend your Lordshippe in all youre undertakynge. He that thryvethe in a Courte muste put halfe hys honestie under his bonnet; and manie do we knowe that never parte that commoditie at all, and sleepe wyth it all in a bag. I reste your Lordshippes trew friende,

JOHN HARINGTON.

A TREATISE

TREATISE on PLAYE,

BY

Sir JOHN HARINGTON,

NEVER PRINTEDE.

OF PLAYE.

It may seeme strange, among so many
grave and waighty matters, to present
so idle and tryflinge a discowrce as the tytle
hereof seemeth to promis; and the wryter
may be thought to haue been verry game-
some in his humor, or verry barren of other
matter for so doing, yf bothe our chroni-
cles did not shew vs a president of a stowt
and pollytyck Kynge (I cannot say just and
vertuous) that propownded as a serious mat-
ter, at a counsell-boord, to haue a fitt and
well chosen playfellow for his nephew; and

if

If every mans owne experience did not tell him, that recreation after study, ease after payne, rest after labor, is very necessary.

Now though I know that holly and wise preachers may say, and say truely, that as a man may be mery without laffing, quell hunger and thirst without surfeting, so hee may refresh his sp̄rites without dyce or card-playing; yet I will not bee so severe and stoycall to pronownce that such play is vnhonest, vngodly, vnlawful, and by wise Princes owght to be banished, not only owt of their howses, but owt of theyr dominions, as an infector of manners, a spoylēr of yowth, a waster of welth, yea, and of that wiche is not to be redeemed by welth, owt most precious tyme; for, if I shoulde holde a paradox, I shoulde have all owt yowng Lordes, owt fayr Ladyes, owt galiant Gentlemen, and the flower of all England against mee; yea, to say truly, I shoulde haue mync own fayry and custome,

nay

nay even my owne opinion and judgmen
against mee : because I do think yt at the
worst tollerable, for the most part indiffe-
rent, and in some sort commendable ; and
therefore, at the first entrawnce hereto, I
may shake handes and make trewse with my
good frend Mr. Groomporter, and assure
him that this discowrse of myne tends no
way to his hindrawnce ; but rather to esta-
blish an honor and order in that, which in
wise mens opinions is now both dishonorably
and disorderly abused, specially in that
houfe whence the pattern and lyght of all
honor and order should come.

I. Fyrst thearefore, I will shew you what
the trew vse of play is.

II. Secondly, I will lay downe breefly
what vifes it participateth.

III. Thirdly, I will declare my conceyl
for a remedy of soche disease, for avoyding
all or the moste of the inconveniencies
that

that happen by the vntemperate and immoderate vse of the same.

Play, accordinge to the awncient schoolemen, (who weare the narowest examiners and futillest distinguyshers of wordes) ys defined to bee, *Ludus, id est, locutus vel operatio in quo nihil queritur nisi delectatio animalis.* A spending of the tyme eyther in speeche or action, whose onely end ys a delyght of the mynd or speryt. And therfore they call yt also a remedy against the overburthening and dulling of the speryts; yt may be deriued into three kyndes.

I. Fyrst, of devocion, of which kinde of recreation, although yt bee absolutely the best, I shall haue cause to speake but little.

II. The second of vnseemly pleasures, provoking to wantonesse; of which, because it is the worst, I must needes say somewhat.

III. The third, of all kynde of games devised for pastyme, which they comprehend vnder the name of *Alearis* and *quasi Alearis*; in which eyther meer hazarde prevayles, as at dyce; or chawnce with some vse of witt, as in cardes and tables; or chawnce with some steyght, strength, and agillitye of the body, as shooting, bowling, tennis, the moste of which being *αδιαφορα*, things indifferent, and both to good and bad vses in all the ages of a man, are consequently the principall grownd and project of this my discouerse.

Of the fyrt and moste excellent play or recreacion (that I may not speake without awtorytie) wee finde an example in the holly historyes of David, & Kings, vi. cap. who said, *Ludam & fam vilior*. Holly virtuous pastymes bee advised in the New Testament, singing salmes, and himms, and spiritual songs, as St. James counselleth those that are mery; walking abrod and meditating as Isake did like a doue; recording some of the eloquent and excellent

lent soliloquyas of St. Awgustyn, or, yf they be vnlearned, singinge one of Dauid's dyvine salmes well translated into meeter; of which myselfe haue heard some profes to haue had more pleasure, and theyr mindes more lifted vp to devotion, then with all the followm church musycke of organs and voyces: whether it weare the matter, or the meeter, or the maker, or the musycke, or all together that so ravyshth them. Of which excellent worke, I meane those salmes in meeter, seing it is allredy prophecied those precious leaues (those hims that she doth consecrate to Heauen) shall owtlast Wilton walls,* meethinke it is pitty they are unpulyshed, but lye still inclosed within those walls lyke prisoners, though many haue made great suyt for theyr liberty; but of this kinde of playe I need say no more, not doubting but many noble mynded cowrtiers frequent often such vertuous exercyses, and, if they would more often by my perswasyon, I would bee not a little glad of yt.

II. Of the seconde sorte of play, provoking only and cheefly to wantones (thowgh some more, some lesse) such haue generally been esteemed enterludes, tumblers, jesting fooles, and scoffers, masking and dawncing, and such-like, in some of which theare may sure bee such temper, as to make them voyd of sinne ; yet common-ly their ys such temptation as ys not with-out some shame, thearfore how so ever the beholders, yf they geve not as yt weare the brydle to much to loose and wanton defyres, may bee excused, yet the astors for the most parte are esteemed illiberal, base, and ridiculous. One sayd merely that enterludes weare the divells farmons, and jesters the divells confessors ; thease for the most part disgracing of vertue, and those not a little gracinge of vices. But, for my part, I commend not such sowerre censurers, but I thinke in stage-playes may bee much good, in well penned comedies, and specially tragedies ; and I remember, in Cambridge, howsoeuer the presyfer sort haue banisht them, the wyfer sort did, and still

still doe mayntayn them. Trew yt is that St. Awgustin doth reproue, and that very justly, the plays of the awncient Romans, such as those that weare called *Bacchanalia*.

Not only thease drunken and wanton playes, but even their *Circenses* and *Seculares*, becausse thease wear for the moste part full of blasphemows superstition, and even dedycated (as he moste amply prooveth) to the honor of theyr fallse godds, indeed fowle sperits and meer devylls; but what preiudyce neede that to bee to owr enterludes, which are no way intended to the dishonor of our own trew Lord, nor honor of his enemy. Concerning this matter one wrote a pretye elegye, of wich I remember thease fower fyrist verses:

*Non ego qui ludos spectant reor esse nocentes,
Non his omne tamen crimen abesse puto;
Grandior his actas morum sine vulnere magno
Forsan adesse potest, sed nisi forte potest.*

To see a play I call no haynous cryme,
 Yet say not I all fawke ys absent thence ;
 Men stayd in yeares may see the same sometyme,
 Perhapps (and but perhapps) withoutt offence.

But now whence comes this offence, but
 from the ill penning of the plays by the
 wryters, or by the wanton humor of this
 tyme, whom no mirth can please yf it be
 not lawced with some bawdery ? and the
 Poets care, as sayth Terence, ys, *Populo
 ut placuerent quas fecissent fabulas.*

Nero, one of the worst Emperors, was
 to much delyghted in musycke, and all
 kinde of poetry ; Will any man conclude
 thearby, that musycke and poetry is abho-
 minable, becausse that abhominable tyrant
 loved them ? Nerua, one of the best of
 the good Emperors, was much pleased with
 a buffon or jesting foole that he had ; yet
 that followd not that all that can play the
 fooles are worthy to be favored by Empe-
 rors ; for even that jester was pretely jested
 at one day by the Emperor. For, when
 the

the foole, havinge made him mery, begged somewhat of him, and cowld not obtayne it, he asked the Emperor why he would not geve him greater rewardes. seeing he took such pleasure in his cownterfaytinge ? Oh, said hee, if I payd for yt, the pleasure were lessened ; meaning, belyke, that haulfe the sport was to see him play the foole for nothinge ; and fewr yt seems they are not well fortedin theyr state and qualtye, if they be not, as Horace calls me,

*Scurra vagus non qui certum præsepe teneret,
Quilibet in quemuis obprobria fingere sœuus.*

Lyke wandring rogues that haue no certaine man-
ger,
Prest to rayle and scoffe at every stranger.

But that such kinde of fellowes as thease bee still hawkinge and hanginge about Princes cowrtes and Noble mens howses, is a custome so awncient that it ys made lawfull by prescripcion. As for the rest of the sportes of this second kinde, being not the

the cheefe intent of my present tretye, I passe them over with this general caveat, eyther for practising or beholding of them, *Ne quid nimis.* For as to bee pleaswnt conveyed, to be acyve and muscicall, are cowndy and liberall qualltyties; so for Noble personages to become jesters, tumblers, and pypers, is hateful, fond, and dishonorabile.

III. The third sort of plays, which I calld *Alearis* & *quasi Alearis*, comprehending in a manner all kinde of games playd at for wagers, beinge one of the moche dawngerous rockes at wiche the yowth of this island suffer voluntary shipwrack, both of fame and fortune, is the speciall kinde of which I wolde now speake. For I haue somtyme considering herof wondred at that strange desease of some men in this kinde, who playing at cardes or dyce, with as ill fortune (commonly) as may bee, and with such impacieunce, that in reason it must exclude all pleasure; that haue not had the power to refrayn from it, but haue still pursued

sued it eyther to the utter decay of theyr estates, or ellse dryven with a kynde of unnecessary necessarytie to descend to so base shifts, as when theyr wyser judgment hath after (by assistance of Gods good grace) expelled that foolysh fansey, they themselues haue damned and detested as most ignomious and reproachfull.

And therfore, seing so playnely this infection begin to grow so generall, and my selfe havinge so hardly (and perhappes skantfully) escaped yt, I thowght it weare an honest and acceptable endevor to fynde soome remedy, if I coulde, for the same. Fyrst, thearfore, I did search, as phisycions doe, the trew nature of the desease, and owt of what humors yt is specially fed, and I fynd, partly by vnparciall examining mine owne imperfekteions and follyes, and partly by observing other mens customs, this excessyve play to grow from one of these evill affectiōns of the minde which the awncientes (not vnproperly) weare wont to term dedly sinnes, viz. pryde, covetowsnes, and slowth;

of

of which flowth caufeth the frequentation of yt, pryde the greatnes, and avarice the greedines. And accordingly I direct my aduise hereto as good phificions dooe medecynes, not quite to take away the humors, but only to restrayne the dawngerous over-flowing thearof. Not but that I am fully perswaded, that, yf I shoule make such an anatomy, as might easely bee donne, of the fowlnes of these offences that aryse out of great play, yea, if one of these gamsters myght, with the eye of virtuous iudgement see but one sawfer full of the corrupt blood that this pestilent desease hath bread in them, they would suffer themselues not only to be purged, but to bee lawnced, rather then any drop of such blood, or of so dawngerous an humor, should bee remayninge in them; and, as for those that weare yet never infected, they would follow the Italians medecyn for the plague:

Presto procul tarde cede recede redi.

Goe

Goe away with the fyrst, remove awaie
fardest, returne with the last.

But this season farves not for such kynde
of physicke; I will neyther purge, lawnce,
nor lett blood; my pacientes shall fare de-
lycately, so they will feede moderatly; fy-
nally, they shall never need eyther sweare
or swett (though theyr desease make them
often doe both) if they will follow but the
prescript that I will geve them; and for
theyr more assurance, I have taken it my-
selfe and some of my good frends, and
thearefore I can say as my Ariosto sayth,

Believe what heere is shoun for thy behoofe,
Probatum est, I know 'tis trew by proofe.

But, that I may yet a while contine this
my phisycall metaphor, marke what I shall
tell (I speake to all great players) of the ori-
gin of youre malladys, and, if you find that I
discouer aryght your deseases without feel-
ing your pulses, thinke I can as well pre-
scribe a medecyn without casting your wa-
ters.

I. Fyrst,

I. Fyrst, thearfore, I say, the cheefe nurc of play is idleness or slowth. Not but that play is a kinde of remedy alſo againſt slowth, but yet, when wee are grown by to much eating and furfeting to a general indisposycyon to all busines, then commonly wee embrace play to avoyd ſleep. I will leauē to the divynes to tell you how dangerous a thinge this fulnes of fleſhe is countēd, and what became of them that did eate and drinke, and roſe up agayn to play. Lett us but morally and civilly (as I may ſay) lay before vs an exampell of ſome one, of which there is to great choyſe, that ſpended his whole life in play: as thus, for example, in the morninge, perhaps, at cheſſe, and after his belly is full then at cardes; and, when his ſperites was dull at that, then for ſome exercyſe of his armes at dyce, and, being weary thearof, for a little motion of his body, to tenniſ; and, having warmd him at that, then, to coole himſelfe a little, play at tables; and being diſquieted in his paciens for ouerſeeing ſyng and quater, or miſſing two or three fowle blotts,

blotts, then to an enterlude, and so (as one well compared yt) lyke to a mill-horse, treddinge alwayes in the same stepps, bee ever as far from a worthy and a wise man as the circle ys from the center: Would not one fwear this wear a marvelous idle fellow?

Sewer idlenes is a thinge not only condemned of all men, and by some law-makers severely punyshed, but evn hateful to nature it selfe, and thearfore commonly it ys the first suggester of all the fowl and enormows finns that are committed.

*Quæritur. Ægistus quare fit factus adulter,
Impromptu ratio est, desidiosus erat.*

What made Ægistus first a lotcher grow?
Slowth was the caufe, as all the world doth know.

Yt is the broom that sweepeth cleen all good thowghts owt of the howse of the mynde, making it fitt to receaue the vii devills, that the manns end may be worse

then the beginning. For, as contemplacion rayseth the fowle to the trew loue of God and inflameth it with a defyre of vyrtuows actions, so doth idlenes depresso the sperryts, engenders a defyre of vnworthy thinges, and cooleth or rather quencheth all the sparkes of vertue and honor.

Whearefore not to stand to long vpon this poynt, which wold (yow may see) afford infynit matter, whosoever will not be noted with the fowle infamy of ydlenes, let him not bee a continuall gamster, for, if he play very much, Demosthenes wear not able to cleer him if he were sued vpon an action of idlenes. I say (very muche) not but that I count a little play, as I said in the beginning, both tollerable and also commendable for worthy parsons of eyther sex (specially attending in cowrt) to recreat themselves at play; and meethinkes I have obserued good vse therof. For it is (be yt spoken vnder correction) an vnsittinge syght to see a presence-chamber empty more than haulfe the day, and men cannot bee alwayes discoursing, nor women always pricking

pricking in clowts ; and therefore, as I say, it is not amisse to play at some sociable game (at which more than ii may play) wherby the attendawnce may seem the lesse tedious to the players, and the rest that looke on may in a sort intertwyn themselvs with beholding it, as daylie experience sheweth vs. Whearefore I haue been ever against the opinion of some elder sarvitors (that seeme now to be better antyquaryes then cowrtiers) who will mayntayn that till ii of the clocke no Gentleman should stand aboue the cubbard ; that to leane in the presence-chamber is vnseemly ; to syt is vnsufferable ; that play came not yn by lycence, but crept in by lycenciofnes.

These good Gentlemen thinke that one of us may boſt of the well spending of that day whearein they haue told vs how mery a world it was when the King went to Bul- len ; whereas, thankes be to God and that noble Kings moſte noble dawghter, wee thinke it as mery ſtill ; and to ſuch reprova-

ers I answer, New Lords, new laws; her Majesties commawndment is suffycient in her cowrt, and if it please her Hyghnes, she may haue yt so stille, but *sublate: usq; tollitur effectus;* Effects remoue with theyr cawses: Good manners will teach every man when it is vnseemly to leane of ffe, and yet the noble nature of Princes is ffe in thease indulgences of ease (as I may say call them) to theyre servantes and subiects. Yt hath been a favor, (thoughe now not common) to geue a pardon of the cap, viz. to stand coverd; yt is a great honor of the Queens court, that no Princes servants fare so well and so orderly, nor have more holsome provision in all Europe; to bee short; the stately pallaces, goodly and many chambers, sayr gallerys, large gardens, sweet walkes, that Princes with magnificent cost do make (the xxth parte of which they vse not themselues) all shew that they desire, and would have all men thinke they desire, the ease, content, and pleasure of theyr followers, as well as themselues. Which matter,

matter, though it be more proper to an-
 other discourse, yet I colde not but towch
 it in this, agaynst theyr error rather than
 mysterytie that say play becomis not the pre-
 sence, and that it would not as well become
 the stafe of the chamber to haue easye
 quilted and lyned forms and stools for the
 Lords and Ladyes to sit on, (which fashyon
 is now taken up in every marchawnts hall)
 as great plank forms that two yeomen can
 skant remoue out of their places, and wayn-
 scot stooles so hard, that, since great
 breeches were layd asyde, men can skant
 indewr to sitt on. But, to end this fyrst
 part of this tripartyte descowrse, you see how
 willing I ame both to allow play, and all
 ease in your play, so the cheefe end of play
 bee that which shoulde indeed bee the trew
 use of play, to recreat the speryts for a
 short tyme, to enable them better to sery-
 ows and wayghty matters.

II. The seconde cawse of excesse in play
 I noted to be pride; an ill cawse of a

worse effect, which because it loues to be gloryous will seldom be seene alone, but attended on wylth wrath, ryot, and blasphemey; and, saue that custome hath made it so familiar to vs that we neither obserue it in ourselues nor in others, wee shold perceave that this proud humor that is fed by play makes vs ofte sweare more in one howr, then otherwise a man could have occasyon to dooē in a whole yeer. Now that you may playnly see it is prydē cheefly that moves men to great play, specially in cowrte and in publyque assemblies whearsoever; mark, I say, the greatest and the moste professed great players if they will not in pryvat mens howfes, or in theyr own (yf they have any) play as small game as need bee, whearas to play the same, nay fyve tymes the same stake in other places, they wold count themselves disparaged for ever.

Yt ys ever noted that the fowlest vice that is, seekes to put on a maske and shew of some vertue; so this pride in gaming would

would fayn bee taken for a kynde of magnanimytie and bowntifull disposycion, and thearfore, as I sayd, the more publicke the place is, the more honorable the presence, the deeper the play groweth, and then, as thowgh two shillinge and sixe pence had not as many fillabells in it as one hundred pownds, yow shall heere them still talkinge of hunderds and thowfandes. And whearefore is all this, forsooth? because the beholders may extoll theyr braue myndes, and faye one to another, Did yow ever see Gentlemen that cared so little for theyr money, so braue, so bountifull, etc. and perhaps evn herein they are deceaved, and that the insteed heereof some of the standers by tell how they hard, but 3 dayes past, a mercer importuning some one of them for 10l. matter, and colde get no other answer but God damme me if I pay you not the next mony I receave; and another had a poore widdow following of him, sewing to buy a copy-holde in which shée had a widdows estate, and offerede in a yeare to
pay

pay fyfie pownd; and he protested he had such present need of mony hee could not stay so longe, and folde it to another for 30l. in hand. And a thirde, perhaphe, was hard chaffing with the baylie of his husbandry, for gevinge viii d. a day this deere year to day laborers, saying; hee myght haue had them for viid. Loe the bownty of these magnificall players! to omit how basely some of these big men will borrow, how beggerly they will shyfte, when they will seem most bowntyfully to spend.

Such skornfull and myserable streyghts they are dryven unto that skorn to use a measurable proporcion in theyr play, according to theyr state and callinges. Neyther would I conclude heeroft that great Princes or Nobles shoulde play for so little as weare not worth the reckoninge of, for I know the saying, *Sine quaⁿtu friget lusus*; small stakes makes colde play. And thearfor, thoughe yt be hard to prescribe a mean and rule of a thing so subject to extremityes

tremityes in so diuers callinges and abillyties of the players, yet I wolde delyver this as my opinion and advise hearein in generall: that the wager in play should bee as it wear fawce, and not the substance of it; so as a man should take at least equal contentment for winninge the game as the mony; and be less greeved for loosing the mony then the game; that a man shold venter no more to play then he cowld bee easily perswaded to geve out of his superfluytie to some well-deserving person that wear in want.

That if the quallitye of the parsons be so different as ofte it happens, that 10 shillings losse to one wear more than 10l. losse to an other; then the greater parsons showlde rather stoop somewhat below theyr custome, than the meaner man showlde step somewhat aboue his calling. For fewer I am, yf one of the extreams must be fallen into, the little play has the lesse dawnger, of fame, of fortune, of faukt, than the greater. Besyde, yf the greater parsons in matter of

game

game shewld not sorte themselues to the
meaner, how showld Princes in their do-
minions fynde playfellowes? For, if her
Majestie would play at Primero in that por-
tion of her estate as I have seen some
of her mean subiects in theyr poor callinges,
she showld play a dukedom at a rost, and a
barrony stake, and then I know none able
to hold play with her: but, if her High-
nes can vowntsaf to play somtyme with her
servawntes, according to theyr meaner abili-
ties, I know not why we her servawntes
showld skorne to play with our equalls or
inferyors for competent wagers, as the losse
may not be burdensome to them.

And yet, not to neglect the honorable
shew of the place, I woulde wysh that
greater parsons showlde, according to theyr
callinges, play on a velvet carpet, handle
nothing but golde, talke of nothing but
pownds, and yet to venter no more than
they may with theyr honors trewly pay,
and with theyr ease willingly spare. As
for

for the standers by, who need not know whether every ryall passes current for 10s. or for 10d. theyr eyes are as well enter-tayned and theyr thowghts as well pleased as if so moche golde wear truly wonne and lost, of which myselfe haue seen doble ex-peryence. For example, whear Lords and great men have been disposed to play deepe play, and, not havinge mony about them, have cut cardes insteede of cownters, with asfewrawnce on theyr honors, to pay for every peece of carde so lost a portegue ; (a thing as some say, common in Spayn) and somtyme donne in this cowrt. I haue obserued that the beholders have taken small pleasure in beholding this play, though hundreds were really and indeed lost there-at. And evn now this other day, when *Craslino animarum* was followly appoyned for the payment of many matches wonne and lost at bowls, the country peeple, that saw no mony walking, helde themselves deluded, and thought they playd but xiiid. vp xiid. thoughe I doubt some of theyr friends

friends feele a greater rate for it ear long. And of the other side I haue obserued, when some of the better sort haue by my perswasyon (for putting in practyse this cownterfet gaming) playd good store of golde and siluer, rating it for the present at the 10th or 12th peny, so as above a noble or a ryall was not in commont account to be lost at a sittinge; yet the vulgar beholders did holde it for the noblest and royallest play they had seen; only marvelling to see such sober Gentlemen play so much in an howr as they wear not vsed to spend in a weeke. Now, yf the yrreverent Doctor Fawstus, or some such grave patron of great play, shold protest this to bee an intollerable coscenage and dishonorable abuse of the beholders, and with some Chesterlike eloquens, deride the weaknes of the conceyct. I answer him that I no way compare with his rare and well studyed invencons of stopps, of cuts, of points, of marks, of slipps, of lays, of setts, of odds in betting, of flurrs, of hy-men, and low-men, of familiars

familiars, and such lyke ; which I am haulfe
 ashamed to name, beawse it shews I am
 not so ignorant of them as I owght to bee ;
 all which, cunning, if great play were sup-
 pressed in owr common ordenaryes, wold
 bee as meerly left and forgotten (thoughe
 it bee now studyed and practyfed as an ex-
 cellent misterie and scyence) as Demetryus
 occupacion of making silver shrynes for
 Dyana was hindred by the Apostles preach-
 ing of Chryste. But I say in defence of
 this honest or at least harmles dissimulacion,
 in making the play seeme greater then it is,
 that thear is almost no parte of owr lyfe in
 which wee doe not generally affecte and ef-
 fect more dawngerous practyses of dissimu-
 lacion in matters of ernest and wayght than
 this that I bring in, in matter only of sport
 and game. Wee goe braue in apparell
 that wee may be taken for better men than
 wee bee ; wee vse much bumbaftings and
 quiltings to seeme better formed, better
 showlderd, smaller wafted, and fuller thyght,
 then wee are ; wee barbe and shawe ofte, to
 seeme yownger than wee are ; wee vse per-

fumes both inward and outward to seeme
sweeter then wee be; corkt shooes to seeme
taller then wee bee; wee use cowrtuous
salutations to seeme kinder then wee bee;
lowly obayfances to seeme humbler then
wee bee; and somtyme grave and godly
communication to seeme wyser or devowter
then wee bee. And infynit such things
wee may observe in ourselues, which are
some of them commendable in this respect,
that, by good and trew endevour to seeme
to bee, we may obtayne at last the habyt
and grace to become to bee such indeed,
according to the excellent counsell, *Labour
to bee as you would bee thought*. Wherfore,
if we allow in so many thinges seeming
withowt beinge, why showld wee not bee
content, in this one thing, to be lesse boun-
tifull, or, to term it ryghtly, lesse prodi-
gall, lesse wastefull, lesse madde then wee
seeme to be.

• But, because examples are more effect-
ual often then perswasyon, and to prayse
the dead is no flattery, I will alleadge one
example,

example, well known to many of vs, and thearefore not vnsit for this purpose. Who was more magnificent in matters of trew honor, more sumptuows in building, ritch in furnishinge, royall in entertayninge, orderly in maintayninge his howse then Sir Christofer Hatton, late Lord Chawncellor? a man taught vyrtue, framed to wisdom, rayfed to honor by her Majesties speciall grace and choyce; yet when some Embassadours lay at his howse, (knowinge the generall humor of the meaner sort to loue to see great play) whyle hee himselfe entertayned the cheefest of them wyth some graue discourse or some sollom musycke, hee cawfed some of his freends to play at cardes with 1000l. in fayr golde of his mony, ratinge it at theyr owne pleasures at xii d. the pownd, or as themselves agreed on, that the summes playd might seem great, the shew bountifull, and the substance not vnsupportable.

Thus you see that, if men will needes have a prude in a thinge whearof they may rather be ashamed, yet in this manner of

them the lessé or the worse spoken of. But, how farr otherwise it is with the prude of great play, I partly noted before.

It beginns with wantones and ryot, continews in cursing and blasphemey, and ends commonly in quarrel and cosenage, which how unworthy it is of a noble and vertuows sperit, any, that have read Tullyes Offices, maye imagin. For thear yt is sayd, *Fraus vulpeculae, vis Leonis, virtusque alienissimum ab homine, sed fraus odio digna maiore*: Frawd ys fox-lyke, force is lyon-lyke, both for a man moste unseemely; but frawd of the two more hatefull. I will not heare spend muche tyme to awnswer some poore appollogyes that some weake witts haue devysed, beguiling themselves whyle they would fain prooue it lawfull to beguile others. But this I am most assured and can proove it by most evydent reasons, that to vse cosenage at play is a thinge vnnaturall, vnlawfull, and, for the most part, to the party that useth it, vnproffytable. For whether play wear fyrt devysed as a sociable passing the tyme

tyme to recreate the speryts, or ellse (as some will haue it) to beguile hunger in a time of great famine, (for I will not discre-dyt that same hunger history, havinge myfelse seen some, for eagernes to play, forbear eating, drinking, and sleepinge, and other necessyties of nature a very long time) What can, I say, be more against the nature, institution, and vse thearof, then to turn kyndnes to unkyndnes, myrth to melancholy, pleasure to pain; fynally, the recreation of over-studied sperites to a most busy study of cosenage.

For, to omit theyr brabblyngs and blasphemyes (whlch would to God they coulde be omitted) is it a small tyme, thinke yow, that one of these cunninge gamsters spendes in practysinge to flurre a dye fewerly, to stop a carde clenly, to lay a packe cunningly? I haue herd some, and those no novyses in these misteryes, affyrme, that the dewyser of the sett at the new cutt (that did cut so many ear the edg was fully discovered) colde not spend so little as a moneths ear-
nest

nest study beatinge his brayns ere hee could
 contrive it (if it colde be donne without
 help of the devell) for, indeed, whom the
 devill should the devill assyft, but soch as
 labor and study night and day in his service?
 Wherefore let them not call it theyr play,
 but theyr labor, theyr trade, theyr occupa-
 pacion, that play only for gayne; for gree-
 dines breeds earnestnes, and earnestnes over-
 throws quite the very nature of all game.

*Lusuri nuses animos quoque ponere debent,
 Lusori cupido semper gravis exitus inflat;
 Pone malas quoties ludendo vinceris iras,
 Nemo potest semper felici ludere dextra.*

Lay down your stake at play, lay down your passions;
 A greedy gamster still hath some mishap;
 To chase for loss proceeds of foolish fashions,
 No man throws still the dice in Fortunes lapp.

These olde verses, patched by me toge-
 ther owt of I know not what olde wryters,
 are sufficient testimony to proove, what
 temper the wyser haue tawght in times past,
 and

and what folly the foolyfhe haue committed at all tymes, concerning gaming; by which it appears moste playnly, that not only to use deceit in play, but, which is far leſſe, to make gayne the end of your play, quite perverteth the ryght use, quality, and nature thearof.

Now that it is vnlawfull is foone prooved, by the common law, by the civill law, by Gods law. By the common and civill law the phrase in bothē is to call cardes and dyce vnlawfull games, yea thoughte playd at without cosenage; and by the cyvill law mony wonne of a warde or of a farrant myght haue been recovered yeers after as appears in the Digest, though I am not ygnorant that some Cyvillians oppose against such a recovery this maxim *In pari causa turpitudinis melior est condicio possidentis*: Whear both partes have like turpitude or dishonesty, the law favors the party in possel- fyon; but admyt yt be fo for fayr play, (thoughte in my poore opinion that warde turpitude bath relation not to the play used in

in dycing-howfes, but in bawdy-howfes) yet for cosenage I hold yt vndowbtedly that mony so wonne, if yt may be prooved, for in law *quod non probatur non est*, nothing is withoutt prooife) may be recoverd of the keeper of the dycing-house, by the civil law, as appeeres () and by action of cosenage or conspiracy at the common law. Neither doth the former maxim make aught agaynst it, becausse the dishonesty is not equal, but all in the deceiver. But now, for Gods law, I must confess I finde no commandement that says, Thow shalt not play, neyther in. preſe wordes, neyther yet by implicacion; and therfore I sayde at the first, it is in ytselſe a thinge indifferent, other than as it is restrayned eyther by canons of the church (of which many are still in force in this realme) or by other posytiue lawes, soch as eatinge fyſh in Lent, wearing soch or soch apparell, which our devynes hold to bynd a Cryſtan in confſcience, being not dyrectly agaynst the Word of God. But (I say) bee it that play by Skrypture is a thinge

thinge indifferent (for fewr I am my goſtly father never barred it me neyther by precept nor exawmple) what excuse is this for coſenage in play, that breaks at leaſt halfe the commawndments of the old and new law? The new law fayth, Loue God aboue all, loue thy neyghbor as thyſelfe. How well this Gentleman loues his neyghbor that lays bayts and hookes to catch his mony from him, every man may ſee: But I hope for all this hee may loue God better; I will beleeve it if hee can awnſwer this question of Saint John. How can one loue God whome hee hath not ſeen, that loues not his brother whome hee hath ſeen? But ſome will fay this is a law of a ſecret and rare perfection; the ten commawndments are playne and open, Doth the cunning gamſter keepe them? Thou ſhalt not couet is the laſt and leaſt of them, lett him be pardoned for breaking that; but yf hee bee (as St. Pawle calls it) an idollater with his covetowſnes, if hee ſwear and forſwear, breake ſabbaths, diſhonor parents and ma-
gistrates, murther with mallys, ſteale from
all

all hee plays with (for it is worse then theft) witnes falsehood with others, all which all the world sees that the cofeninge gamblers daylie do, then it is to playn that they breake nyne of the commawndments; and (if hee bee not an eunuche) I dare be sworn that hee that breakes nyne of them doth keep none of them.

Now lett them devyse what defences they can for this theyr cofengage, let them excuse it as a *pecca*, and say it is no robbery becausle the party brings yt to venter it (for so taylors deny theyr stealinge by saying the stiffe is browght them) yet I thinke, if thease seeke theyr stolen stiffe in hell, those will finde theyrs in hell also. For whear law allows a recovery, and confeyence byndes to restitucion, how can the gayne bee any waye lawfull?

Men are not passinge good nor passinge yll of a sudden, or all at once; but, as the good grow from fayth to fayth, so the lewd fall from filth to filth. At the fyrr a man

man makes somme skruple, and, when he hath gevn himselfe leaue to play fallse for a little, at last hee taketh not only leaue but pleasure, yea, sometyme a prude to do it for more then a great deale. Wherfore, as Ovid sayth,

*Obſta principijs ; fero medicina paratur,
Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.*

Stop the firſt breaches ; medcine will not boot,
When by delay deſeases take deep root.

But yet to remember my purpoſe and promis in the beginning, which was that I wold not quite purge any humor, but only allay yt a little ; ſo I will ſtill yelde to eaue ſo moch of this covetous humor in play as may ſerue for a ſawce (as I ſayd) / ea, and a hungry ſawce, ſoچ as may moue uſſient appetyte, but withall I wiſhe you o beware of a ſurfitte. Neyther need I merin to geve any other rules, but to refer you to thoſe former aduifes that I gaue in

waying the dyvers callings and qualytics of
men.

Theare is a great shew of popularytie in
playing small game, as wee haue heard of
one that shall be nameles (becawse he was
not blameles) that with shooptyng seauen
vp groates among yeamen, and goinge in
playne apparell, had stolen so many hertes
(for I dare not say hee came trewly by
them) that hee was accused of more then
fellony. But my noble godfather, William
Erle of Pembroke, shall not bee nameles,
who (as I haue herd a speciall farvant neer
abowt him tell) loste two thowsand pownde
in one night (imitating Augustus Cæfars
play, thowgh I will be sworen for him he
never read his life) stille geving away all he
wonn, and paying all hee lost; and yt ys
possible (for so said his farvant to mee) that,
by this his ill luck at play, hee saved as
much as the man before ment (thowghe not
mented) did loose. Thus I haue named,
or at least signified an exawmple of small
game

game withoutt basenes, of great play with-
owt folly ; now I will ad only two not vn-
pleasawnt tales, one of a witty deceynt not
dishonest ; another of a willing losse not
vndiscreet. Pope Julio* (if I fail not in
the name, and fewr I ame that their is a
game of the cardes after his name) was a
greate and wary player, a greate vertue in
a man of his professyon ; but being a goode
companyon, and as the phrase is, as mery
as Pope Joane, yt is sayd hee playd at Pri-
mero with some great Princes or Cardinalls
that vse to be Popes play-fellows, and, after
the play was grown warm and the restes
great, it happened that two of them wear
incountered ffe and fiftye ; moch mony
being sett vpp, and moch more to sett, the
Pope being the younger 55, thowgh it
weare the greatest game of the cardes, yet
mistrusting, as it was indeed, that thear
was an elder game on the boord, gaued it

* Now called *Pope Joan*, an old Game.

ouer, swearing, if hee had beene but one
more, hee wold haue seene it; the othes
supposinge, as the speech intended, that
hee had beene at the most but fower and
fiftie, allowed him the one more, and by
judgment of the groom-porters there loft it.
Heer was a kind of frawd, but not so full
of fawlt as of witte, and the parsons being
soch with whome 5000 crownes is but a
warde to a cortesan for a nights lodgynge; it
cannot in them seeme covetousnes or co-
senage. Well you may call it a strategem
of witt at the cardes, as they terme them
gems of war in a campe; for though a
Heathen Prince coulde say,

*Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique,
Vos ne velit vel me regnare hora quidue ferat fors.*

Try wee, with glittering blade, not glistening gold,
Whiche of vs two the highest seat shall hold,

Yet now Hollynes and his cheef Catho-
lic sonnes can say,

Dohus

Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat?

Be it virtue, be it frawd,
Against a foe it merits lawd.

O Chryſtians! if you will not learn fayr
warrs, and fayr play, and honesty from
Heauen, learn it from the Heathen; and,
if humility cannot teache yow to ſhunne
ſome gloriouſe ſinns, lett pryde moue yow
to shame of ſo base ſinns.

The other tale I wold tell of a willinge
and wife loſſe I have hearde dyverſly tolde.
Some tell it of Kyng Phillip and a favoryt
of his; ſome of our worthy Kyng Henry
8 and Domingo; and I may call it a tale,
becawſe perhaſpes it is but a tale, but
thus they tell it: The Kinge, 55 eldeſt
hand, fet vp all reſtes and diſcarded flush;
Domingo or Dundego, call him how you
will, helde it vpon 49, or ſom ſuch game;
when all reſtes wear vp and they had diſ-
carded, the Kinge threw his 55 on the
boord open, with great laſter, ſuppoſing

the game (as yt was) in a manner ~~fewer~~. Domingo was at his last carde incownterd flush, as the standers by saw and tolde the daye after; but seeing the Kinge so mery, would not for a rest at Primero put him owt of that pleasaunt conceyt, and put vp his cardes quietly, yeelding it lost. What shall we say, for it is disputable? Was it well or ill donne? We must say as is oft sayd, it was as it was taken, and they say it was well taken. But I say, if the fauorty did it with a cleere mynde, as I may say, ~~candide~~, to encrease and preserue his maisters pleasure, it was a worthy and a kinde parte; but if the fox had read the fable of the beastes hunting with the lyon, how the pray thear is wont to be devyded, then it was a wrong to the Kyng, and a crafty fox-like parte; and for my parte, if my man should doe soe to me, I would think he mistrusted my pacience; and I remember, fower yeers fince, a verry neer kinsman of myne, becaufc I lost a game at cheffe for vid. somwhat to patiently unto him, whear-

by

by he mistrusted, as yt was indeed, that I
lost yt voluntary, vowed hee wold never
play with me at chesse agayne, thowgh hee
loue the game, and wee mett often; ney-
ther can I hyer him, with the best horse I
haue, to dispence with this foolysh vow.
But to draw to an end, for I fynd in this
idle discowrse I am apt to fall into many
idell digreffyons, I will now only shew that
the masters of this so seldom thryue by it,
as if it ware that alone yt wear enowghe
to make them geve it over; and then, for
my conclusion, I will sett down breefly the
good yses may be made of this cownterset
great play.

Wee judge ordinarily those trades the
best at which eyther some thryue exceed-
ingly, or many thryue reasonably; and
those the worst at which many breake bank-
rowtes, and none wax wealthy. By this
rule a cosenynge gamster of all others
showlde have a bad occupacyon; for, to
omit his losse of Heavn, which perhappes
he

he never thinks of, fewr I ame following
 that cowrse hee can never hope of (for if
 a customer could not be a discyple till he
 fyrist left his receyt of custome) mochelst
 can a cosener be a trew Chryftian: will he
 leaue his deceyt in cosenage, ... But I say,
 omitting that great losse that will make
 them eternal bankarowres, lett them shew
 mee but an exawmple among a million that
 euer rose by play. I haue heard of many
 riech marchawnts and goldsmithes in Cheapside
 some came owt of worshipfull howses to
 come after them; *Who hath not heard of the
 Hoyer whome Deane Nowell, that good old
 Father, was administrator unto; of a ritch
 shoomaker in Westminster; of hunders
 I need not name, that by thease honest,
 painful trades, how fondly foever some
 skorn them, came to greate welthe and sub-
 stance? But what speake I of honest trades,
 courtesans haue become ritche; and after
 haue been convertentes and remayned hon-
 est. Pyrates by sea, robbers by land,
 haue become honest substanciall men as*

wee

wee call them, and purchasers of more lawfull purchase. But a cosener in a dy-
cing-howse that shall thryue by his occu-
pacion, and liue well, with that hee hath got
so ill, is as rare as a blacke swanne, and no
exawmple to be shewed of it in memory or
history. Whearfore a dyking-howse may
not vsifly be lykened to a barrene vnhol-
som island standing in a tempestuows sea,
(lyke to some of those of the West Indyas)
whear no sustenance colde bee had, nor no
man wold lyve save for the shipwracke hap-
pening thearabout, wich helps them thowgh
vncertenly, and not ouer abundantly, to
so much as mayntaynes lyfe and fowle, for
in suche sort, with the ruyn of infinit young
gentlemen, the dyking-box mayntains a hun-
gery famylee. Now for the cunning gam-
sters, who cannot often meet with a good
market, but some tymes, when some good
gulle comes owt of the country, and knowes
not how to grace himselfe in company but
with play and good clothes, then doe those
gallantes draw a good hand or two, but for
the

the most parte they spend more then they
 gett, for, thowgh to a good vse yow shall
 seldome see them geue vied yet, and they
 for all that exceeding prodigall in expens
 specially on theyr back, and theyr bally,
 and beneath the belly, I meane in theyr fyne
 silke stockinges and Spanysh leather hosen
 French garters, and moche French bes
 sides, the procuringe whereof somtyme; and
 somtyme the curinge, and, after oft very
 divacion, the recurringe is exceeding charge
 able; all which charges are not easily
 borne: Beside theare ys now so many of
 that affociation as much hindres the gayne
 of the fathers of that faculte: but if they
 gett nothing (as most at home heare bee ey
 ther so wyse with theyr deer bought witt, as
 they will play no more, or so poore with
 theyr now felt folly, as they can play no
 more) so as now theyr cheefe hope is for
 our yownge Captaynes to come ritch from
 the Indyas (but, if they gett, I say, no
 good bootyes, yet they must stick to it, and
 liue by it, as the olde wall standes by the
 helpe

helpe of that iue that was the first cawse of
ottinge and vndercreepinge the fowndation
theaſorſ; ſo that I may boldly con-
clude, that, thowgh theaſ will euer bee
ome fooleſ to be coſeneſ, yet, as longe as
he aſ is ſoche ſtore of knaues that would co-
en them, yet will grow euery day poor by
his beggerly occupacion; and God ſend
ne quickly fatherleſ ſonne, yf I had not
aſher one of my ſonneſ wear a tanker-
bearer, that weareſ ſometymes his ſilke
leeveſ at the church on Sonday, then a
coſeneſ that weareſ his fatten hofe at an or-
deñary on Fridaie. But now I come to
the laſt parte of this diſcourſe, and will
hew ſome good vſeſ of this kynde of coun-
terfayt play, wiſh, by reaſons, by exhorta-
tions, by ſimmytudes, and by exawmple,
I doe ſoe ernestly labor to perſwade.

Fyrſt, therfore, I ſay, for thoſe that haue
been been uſed to great play, and theaſ-
fore can take the leſſe pleasure in ſmall
game, of the ſudden, they ſhall with this
fashion play leſſe offend theyr fancye, and
leſſe

leffe after theyr custome then suddenly to
 fall from poundes to shillinges ; as wee see
 a chylde weaned from his teat by little and
 little, somtyme with a sucking bole, som-
 tyme with making bitter the nurses nipples,
 then with other spoone meate, till at last
 hee makes no reckoninge of childish milke,
 but falls to feed on more manly meat.
 Why shoulde not a man bee as well content
 to wean himselfe from unproffyttable and
 vnmanly customes ? I haue heard of one
 hath been so sicke of mallencolly, that hee
 hath thought his hed, or I thinke it was his
 nose, did fill all the chamber, (for many
 mens hedes fill greater roomes then they
 are aware of) now this man cowld not be
 cured by any reason to prooue it was not
 lyke to be so, nor by demonstracion to
 prooue yt was vnpossible to bee so, nor by
 sence to feele it was not so ; but a far differ-
 ent means was vsed to cure him, by per-
 fwadinge him it was so, and feedinge a
 while that strange humor of his so longe
 till the same humor, and the same weaknes
 that syrst moved that ymaginary malady,

• made

made him capable of that ymaginary cure ; for, the phisycion coming into the patients chamber, at his very entry fownd fawlte that hee could not come to the beddes syde for the greatnes of the nose that filled all the chamber ; yea, marry, sayd his pacient, it is to trew, how should it bee remedyed ? Why, sayd hee, it must bee cutt till it bee less, and then bee feared ; and, presently calling for a hatchet, hee layd about him vpon the stools and formes, and, havinge conveyed great gobbets of flesh into the chamber, bare him in hand they weare cut from that superfluous nose ; at last, when hee came with his hott yron to feare it, lest it should bleed to much, the mallencolly man no sooner felte a little singinge of the hott yron, but hee fownd his nose restored to verry good proporcion ; so ended his mallencolly. But alaſſ ! they are ſicke of a worse mallencholly, that thinke eyther great play pleafawnt, or fallſe play lawfull ; and, thowgh they bee not easely cured, yet any medcyn is as fitt and lyke to cure them as that I laſt recyted.

A second good vse of this countrefet play is, that if men weare bownd indeed strictly to vse it (as for example, by her Majesties commawndment in her howfe, or soch-lyke) it wold quyckly take away, by one reason, bothe the greatnes and greedines in play, which I noted as two of the cheefest ills that play is subiect vnto; and by such a means did Lycurgus banish vsury and all kind of covetousnes owt of his country.

For hee finding the caufe why men hoorded up gold and siluer was only becaufe a little purse full of that woudl buy so many kynde of necessaryes both for vse and pleasure; I say hee presently made such an imbasement of mony in so extreame a degree, as all the currant mony was only of iron, and that tempered in vinegar, to make it good for no other vse; whearby it soone came to passe that no forren nacion brought them any new-fangled toyes to carry away theyr mony, nor no man covyted to haue great store of it, when it
cold

cold not be kept secret, and, if one would buy moch, hee must haue browght fower or fие sumpters loden with that coyn to buy that fower or five soueraygns heer wold pay for. Now, if I doe not much mistake it, this practys of play I perswade hathe moche affinity with that law of Ly-curgus; for if, duringe the tyme of play only, angells wear imbafed to shillinges, or, shillinges to pence, yt would bee such a cumber to play deepe play, that none would endure yt. If a man would have xl. in his rest, he muste have 100l. ster-ling; if he wonne fyve pownd at a cast at dyce, he must tell over fyfty, which wear a paine rather then a pleasure.

g. Thirdly, a kynde of comodytie, thowgh I count it but a small one, wear this, that by vsyng this play a man showld play for more frankly and lesse impaciently, when hee showld play for so much mony indeed: As the Italian that imboldened himselfe so by vsing to stabbe a Dukes picture, that in the end hee stabbed the Duke himselfe.

T 2

And

And meethinke it so far vnfittinge for a Gentleman to chafe at his ill lucke as many will dooe, wheras it is indeed the los of the mony, and not the game that makes them so cholleryke ; that somtymes I blush in theyr behalfe that, specially in the presence, will beate theyr systes on the boord, flinge the cardes under table, which is smaller game you shall neuer see them offer. And therfore to such specially I commend this play, as most fitt for them ; whearin perhaps many will fynd theyr humor so well fitted; that they wil bee content neuer to proove the greater play, but please themselfes with this, which is gentlemanly for shew, little for los, and pleasant for company and recreacion.



From

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xi

From Sir JOHN HARINGTON's Papers, called his Breefe Notes and Remembrauncer.

APRIL 4th, 1594. It was bruite at Cowrte that Davide Areskine, a Scottish man had basely revilede the Queenes Majestie, by sayinge she was cosenede by the Devile, and folde her faithe for hypocrisie, in the matter of the Queene of Scotlandes deathe.—It dothe not behoove us ordinarie mene to touche on extraordinarie affaires. God directethe princelie counciles, faithe Sir William W—, and yet, God wot, Sir William is a shalow wighte.—Heav'n defende mortal man from hypocrisie.

I came home to Kelstone, and founde my Mall, my childrene, and my cattle, all well fedde, well taughte, and well belovede. 'Tis not so at Cowrte; ill breeding with ill feedinge, and no love but that of

the lustie God of gallantrie, Almodaeus. I am to send goode store of newes from the countrie; for hir Highnesse entertainimente. I shall not leave behinde my neighbour Cottons horn, for a plentifull horn it is.—Her Highnesse loveth the merrie tales.—My howke at Bathe I have promised to younge Shetone, who may do me kindnesse with his Lorde; and as for his Ladie, I will do my kindnesse as I shall likē myselfe.—Mē not talke more about Spanishe grandeur, and well shapen mustachoes.

Sunday, June 14. The Queenes Ma-
jestie tastede my wifes comfits, and did
muche praise her cunninge in the makinge.
—Sende no more, for other Ladies jealou-
sie workethe againste my Malls comfits, and
this will not comforte her.—I will write a
damnable storie, and put it in goodlie verse,
aboute Lorde A——; he hathe done me
some ill turnes.—God keepe us from lyinge
and slander worke.

The

The Queene stooode up and bade me
 reache forthe my arme to reste her thereon.
 Oh, what swete burden to my nexte songe.
 —Petrarcke shall eke out good matter for
 this busynesse.

The fweete Ladies suite to her Majestie
 I will forwarde.—Woud God I never had
 so manie suites of mine owne to forwarde
 with the Ladies as I have heretofore.—*Mili-
 tavi non sine gloria.* The Queene loveth to
 see me in my laste frize jerkin, and saith
 tis well enoughe cutt. I will have another
 made liken to it. I do remember she spit
 on Sir Mathews fringed clothe, and said,
 the fooles wit was gone to ragges.—Heavn
 spare me from suche jibinge.

I talkede muche to the Treasurer on sun-
 drie matters latelie, which hathe been re-
 portede. Who

Who livethe in Cowrtes muste marke what they
faie,
Who livethe for easie had better live awaie.

In August I was muche troublede at sun-
drie grievances from divers mene in high
states ; but envie dothe haunte manie, and
breed jealoufie ; I will bid adieu to good
companie, and leave sueing and seeking at
Cowrte, for if I have no more friends nor
better at Heavens Cowrte than at this, I
shall beginne to think somewhat of breke
damnation.

I have spente my time, my fortune,
and almoste my honestie, to buy false
hope, false friends, and shallow praise ;—
and be it rememberd, that he who castethe
up this reckoning of a cowrtlie minion,
will sette his summe like a foole at the ende,
for not beinge a knave at the beginninge.
Oh, that I coud boasthe withe chaunter Da-
vide, *In te speravi Domine.* I muste

I muste turne my poore wittes towardes
 my suite for the landes in the northe, Sir
 Ralph H——, biddethe me move the
 Queenes Majestie in my behalfe, and that
 stoutlie; she loveth the plaine dealinges and
 I will not lie unto her. The Earle doth
 tell me one waie, but I shall not abide
 thearby; I have seen thosse faile by such de-
 vices.—I muste go in an earlie houre, be-
 fore her Highnesse hathe speciale matters
 broughte up to councel on.—I muste go be-
 fore the breakfastinge covers are placede,
 and stande uncovered as her Highnesse
 comethe forthe her chamber;—then kneel
 and saie, God save youre Majestie, I crave
 youre eare at what houre may suite for youre
 servante to meete your blessed counte-
 naunce. Thus will I gaine her favoure to
 followe to the auditorie.

Truste not a friende to doe or saie,
 In that yourselfe can sue or prai...

Yesterday

Yesterday I was neare drunkene, and to
day am neare sicke, and perchance to-
morrow maye be bothe sicke and sorrie;
my cosyn did chide me, and saide, I bade
my man lighte his taper at the moone; It
maie be st. Horace saithe,

Calum ipsius patrum scullitia.

I see some men who love gameing, some
men who love wenching, some mene who
love wine, and some who love trenchering.
—These ofte finde an emptie purse, a run-
ninge reins, an acheinge heade, and grum-
blinge guttes; Now, what findethe he who
lovethe the pride of life, the cowrtes vani-
tie, ambition's puff ball? In soothe no
more than emptie wordes, grinninge scoffe,
watching nightes, and fawninge daies.—

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

One

One Sunday (April last) my Lorde of London, preached to the Queenes Majestie, and seemede to touche on the vantie of deckinge the bodie too finely.—Her Majestie told the Ladies, that if the Bishope helde more discourse on suche matters, shée wolde fitte him for Heaven, but he shoulde walke thither withoute a staffe, and leave his mantle behind him ; perchance the Bishope hathe never sougthe her Highneffe wardrobe, or he woulde have chosen another texte.

. I heare I ame markede out for the nexte yeers sherrife for the countie of Somersette. I will not gibe at the Judge, as my neighbour did, when he was appointede to that charge, and with more wit than good heed, told the Judge, who complainde of stonie roades, and fearede muche the dangers of our western travellinge ; In goode foothe, sir, it be but faire playe, that you, who so ofte

ofte make others feare for theire neckes
 shoud in some sorte beginne to thinke of
 savinge your owne. Herewithe Judge Mi-
 nos was not well pleasede, but faide, goode
 Maister Sherife, leave alone my necke,
 and looke to youre owne heeles, for you
 may one daye be laide by them. Nor did
 his anger here reste, for on very flighte of-
 fence in Cowrte, he finde my wittie neigh-
 boure five poundes; *Felix quem faciunt al-
 ena pericula cautum.*—So shall I when in such
 companie make no accounte of the countie
 wayes, but looke well to my owne.

I muste not forgette to call on the Treas-
 furer, he that dothe not love the *man*, will
 have little favoure with the mistresse, and I
 am in good likinge withe bothe, praisede
 be God.—My Lorde of Effex is also my
 friende, and that not in bad sorte. He
 bides me lay goode holde on her Majesties
 bountie, and aske freely; I will attende to-
 morrowe, and leave this little poesie be-
 hindē

hinde her cushion at my departinge from
her presence.

To the QUEENS MAJESTIE.

For ever dear, for ever dreaded Prince,
You read a verse of mine a little since ;
And so pronounc't each word, and every letter,
Your gracious reading grac't my verse the better :
Sith then your Highnesse doth by gift exceeding,
Make what you read the better for your reading ;
Let my poor muse your pains thus farre importune,
Like as you read my verse, so—*read my Fortune.*

From your Highnesse saucy Godson.

Note here, how muche will a mane even
benefitte his enemie, provided he dothe
put him out of his owne waie ? My Lord
of Essex did lately want Sir George Carew
to be Lord Leutemante of Ireland, rather
than his owne unkle, Sir William Knollys,
because he had given him some cause of

offence, and by thus thrusting him into high office, he would remove him from cowrte.

October . I this daye wente to the new Lord High Treasurer, Lorde Buckhirst; I was not ill receivede, nor in soothe, so well as I had beene usede to in the daye of Lorde Burleighe. When shall oure realme see suche a man, or when suche a mistresse have suche a servante; well mighte one weepe when the other diede. This choice dothe well assure us that in the witte of the servante dwellethe the masters fortune, and that all States have thriven better or worse, as the government was given to suche as were honeste as well as able. If a King hathe not discernemente to chuse a few wise heads, how shall he subdue the many foolish hearts, or how shall the leaves and blossom flourish when the sap is corruptede at the roote of the plante. I coud herewithe cite manie good authorities

horities both Greek and Latin, to prove
 mine opinion, but I do remember
 at Burleigh did once saye in my hear-
 e to Walsingham, who had been wait-
 ; to confer with him aboute manie great
 matters, whereof I had borne some parte,
 bearinge a message from the Queen to
 itton: When my Lord Treasurer did
 me in from prayers, Sir Francis Wal-
 gham did in merrie sorte say, that he
 shed himself so goode a servant of God

Lord Burleigh, but that he had not
 en at Churche for a week past. Now my
 lord Burleigh did gravely replye thus, I
 lde it meete for us to aske Gods grace to
 epe *us* founde of hearte, who have so
 ieh in our powre, and to direct us to the
 ill doinge for all the people, whom it is
 sie for us to injure and ruine, and herein
 y good friendes, the special blessinge
 emethe meete to be discretely askede and
 fely worne.

I did not a little marvele at this good discourse, to see how a good man considerethe his weightie charge, and striveth to keepe oute Satane from corruptinge the hearte in discharge of his duties. Howe fewe have suche heartes or suche heads, and therefore shall I note this for thole that read hereafter.

It is worthie noting when we finde how little sure happiness is allotted, even to the mightie on earthe. Philip of Spaine reigned fortie-two years in troubles and disquietudes, loste his provinces, whilste he was striving to enlarge his possessions, and then in olde age was eaten by lice when livinge: God grante me no further ambition than to be eaten by wormes when I am deade, and this I saide to the Queene.

The Queene seemede troubled to daye; Hatton came out from her presence with ill coun-

countenaunce, and pulled me aside by the girdle, and saide in secrete waie, If you have any suite to daie, I praye you put it aside, *The sunne dothe not shine.* Tis this accursedde Spanishe businesse; so wyll not I adventure her Highnesse choller, leste she shoulde collar me also.

News from the Ambassadours to France; Wilkes died at Paris; God speed Cecil and Herbert, or we shall ill speede at home. It is a base matter in Henrie of France, to make peace withouten his allyes and friends; I coud wyshe her Highnesse coud once rounde him in the eare aboute this matter, she seemethe in apte sorte for suche busynesse, for she callede him in my hearinge, the antichriste of ingratitudo.

My Notes and Remembraunces.

The Iryshrie are muche given to whoredome, as I sawe at Munster, where the

X Souldiers withouten clothes on their backes
 or foode in their bellies, were lying under
 hedges withe marvelous ill favourede wen-
 ches, whom they woud rather perish for
 than fighte for, and herbie were much in-
 jurie to their cause, for nothing but stripes
 coud bringe them to their dutie. They
 likewise are abusive in their discourse, and
 yet they do appeare in the upper forte very
 kinde and hospitable to all new comers, as
 I did well experience in this countrie even
 so muche as if my owne landes were here
 I woude hazarde my dwellinge with them
 for life. I was often well entertaind, and
 in some sorte got ill will for speakinge in
 praise of their civil usage among our owne
 commanders, whome I often tolde that tho'
 I was sente oute to fighte with some, there
 did appeare no reason for my not eatinge
 with the others. I was well usede, and there-
 fore am in dutie bounde to speake welle of
 the Irishrie.

The

The Queene did once aske my wife in
merrie sorte, how she kepte my goode
wyll and love, which I did alwayes mayn-
taine to be trulie goode towardes her and
my childe[n]e? My *Mall*, in wife and dis-
creete manner, tolde her Highneffe, she
had confidence in her husbandes under-
standinge and courage, well founded on her
own stedfastnes not to offend or thwart,
but to cherishe and obey, hereby did per-
suade her husbande of her owne affectione,
and in so doinge did commande his. Go
to, go to, mistreffe, faithe the Queene,
you are wisely bente I finde; after suche
sorte do I keepe the good wyll of all my
husbandes, my good people; for if they
did not reste assurde of some specyal love
towarde them, they woud not readilie
yeilde me suche goode obedience. This
deservethe notinge, as beinge bothe wife
and pleaseaunte.

What

What perylls have I escaped; I was entrusted by Essex, whom I did adventure to visite with a message to the Queenes Ma-jeftie, settinge forthe his contrition and sore greivance for his manie offences; I was righte glade to heare fuche contrition, and labourede to effete this matter; but ere I coude bear these tydinges, whiche I was well advysede to do, the Earles peti-
tion reached her hand, and I fear her dif-
pleasure too, but herein I bore no parte;
I was muche encouraged to go throught
this friendlye parte on manie fides, but I
faide, charitie did begin at home, and
shoud alwaies sayle with a faire winde, or it
was not likelie to be a prosperous voyage. I
had neerly been wracked on the Essex coaste
in my lafte venture, as I tolde the Queene,
had it note been for the sweete calme of
her specyal forgivenesse. I have hearde
muche on bothe haundes, but the wiser he
who reportethe nothinge hereof. Did ei-
ther

ther knowe what I knowe either have faide,
it woulde not worke muche to contente-
mente or goode lykinge.

It restethe wythe me in opynion, that
ambition thwarted in its career, dothe spee-
dilie leade on to madnesse ; herein I am
strengthened by what I learne in my Lord
of Essex, who shyftethe from sorrowe and
repentaunce to rage and rebellion so sudden-
lie, as well provethe him devoide of goode
reason or righte mynde ; in my laste dis-
course, he uttered strange wordes, bor-
derynge on suche strange defyngs that
made me hastene forthe, and leave his pre-
sence ; thank heaven I am safe at home,
and if I go in suche troubles againe, I de-
serve the gallowes for a meddlynge foole :
His speeches of the Queene becomethe no
man who hathe *mens sana in corpore sano*.
He hathe ill advysers, and muche evyl
hathe sprunge from thys source. The
Queene well knowethe how to humble the
haughtie

haughtie spirit, the haughtie spirit knoweth
not how to yield, and the mans soule seem-
eth tofseide to and fro, like the waves of a
troubled sea.

1603. Here now wyll I reste my trou-
bled mynde, and tende my sheepe like an
Arcadian swayne, that hathe loste his faire
mistresse, for in soothe, I have loste the
beste and faireste love that ever shepharde
knew even my gracious Queene, and sith
my goode mistresse is gone; I shall not
hastily put forthe for a new master. I
heare oure new kynge hathe hangede one
man before he was tryede, tis strangely
done; now if the wynde blowethe thus,
why may not a man be tryed before he hathe
offended.—I wyll keepe companie with
none but my oves and boves, and go to
Bathe and drinke facke, and wash awaie
remembraunces of paste times in the streams
of Lethe.

I hear

I hear muche by pryuate means of
strange plottes by Cobham, Grey, Raleighe,
and others. I have no concerns of this
sorte, save that my man Ralphe, hathe
stolen two cheeses from my dairy-houfe, I
wifhe he were chokede herewyth, and yet
the fellow hathe five childerne; I wyll not
sue hym if he repentethe and amendethe.

Manie letters from the cowrte at Wilton,
persuade me to come thereto, and some spe-
cial notices from persons in highe state.

My poor cosen, Sir Griffyth Markham,
prayethe my servyce in his behalfe wyth the
Kynge, concernynge his imprysonmente.

I muste wryte my news to my poore wyfe;
the Bishops came to the Kynge aboute the
petition of the Puritans, I was by and heard
much

much dyscourse ; the Kynge talkede n Latin, and disputed wythe Dr. Reyn at Hampton, but he rather usede upl ings than argumente, and tolde the tioners that they wanted to strip Chri gaine, and bid them awaie with thei vellinge ; moreover, he wifhede those woud take awaye the surplice, mighte linen for their own breech. The Bi seemed much pleased, and said his M tie spoke by the power of inspiratio wist not what they mean, but the spirit rather foule mouthede ; I cannot be fente at the next meetinge, though the shope of London saide I myghte be in anti-chamber ; it seemethe the Kynge not change the religious obseruance There was muche dyscourse aboue rynghe in marriage, and the crosse in t yfme, but if I gueffe aryghte, the petiti ers againste one crosse, wyll finde *anothe*

I thys day heard the Kynge delyver
spee

speech to the Commons and Lordes, and
notede one parte thereof wherein his Ma-
jestie callede the Devil a busy Bishope, spa-
rynge neither laboure nor paines. My
Lorde of London tolde me, he thoughte
his Majestie mighte have chosен another
name.



The following Extract may serve to confirm the general Idea given us of Queen ELIZABETH's Passion for rich Cloaths and personal Ornaments. A Law-suit was depending to recover some Lands which had been forfeited by Sir JAMES HARINGTON, for espousing the Cause of RICHARD the Third, and a Reversion granted to his Family by HENRY the Eighth.

“ — YET I will adventure to give her
 “ Majestie five hundred pounds
 “ in money, and some pretty jewel or garment as you shall advyse, onlie praying
 “ her Majestie to further my suite with some
 “ of her lernede Counsel; which I pray
 “ you to find some proper tyme to move
 “ in; this some hold as a dangerous ad-
 “ venture, but five and twentie manors do
 “ well warrant my trying it.”

*A Letter from King JAMES the First,
to Sir JOHN HARINGTON, in the
original Spelling.*

*To our Trusty and Welbelovede Sir JOHNE
HARINGTON, Knight.*

RYTHE trustie and welbelovite Frinde,
we greete yow heartily weill. We
have raiffavit your lanterne, with the poesie
yow sende us be owr servande Williame
Hunter, gevinge yow hairtie thankes; as
lykewayse for your laste letter, quhawin we
perfaise the continuance of your loyall af-
fectione to us and your servyce; we shall
not be unmyndesule to extende owr prince-
lie favoure heirafter to yow and your per-
ticulers at all guid occasions. We com-
mitte yow to God.

J A M E S R.

From our Cowre at Hallyruid,
Howse, April the Thyrde, 1603.

MR. FENTON to J. HARINGTON, at
BATHE.

Moste respettede Friende,

IT seemethe marvellous that our gracious Queene hath so muche annoyance from her most bounden seruaunts ; I verily think her Highnesse cannot demande what is not due from any of her subiects. Her owne love hath so wrote on us all, that the hearte muste be evil that dothe pay her its small dutie so grudgingly as ~~some~~ have done of late. I have not seene her Highnesse save twice, since Easter last, bothe of which times she spake vehemently and with great wrathe of her fervante, the Ladie Marie Howarde, forasmuche as she had refused to bear her mantle at the hour her Highnesse is wontede to air in the garden, and on small rebuke did vent suche unseemlie answere as did breede much choler in her mistresse. Again, on other occasion, she was not ready to carry the cup of grace

grace during the dinner in the privie-chamber, nor was she attending at the hour of her Majesties going to prayer. All whiche dothe now so disquiet her Highnesse, that she fwore she would no more shew her any countenance, but out with all such ungracious, flouting wenches; because, forsoothe, she hathe much favour and marks of love from the younge Earl, which is not so pleasing to the Queene, who dothe still muche exhort all her women to remaine in virgin state as muche as may be. I adventured to say, as far as discretion did go, in defence of our friende, and did urge muche in behalfe of youthe and enticinge love, which did often abate of righte measures in faire ladies; and moreover related whatever might appease the Queene, touchinge the confession of her great kindness to her sister Jane before her marriage; alſt which did nothinge soothe her Highnesse anger, saying, " I have made her my ser-
" " vante, and ſhe will now make herſelf my
" miſtrefſe; but in good faith, William,

"she shall not, and so tell her." In short, pitie dothe move me to save this Ladie, and woud beg such suit to the Queene from you and your friendes, as may winn her favour to spare her on future amendmente; if you coud speak to Mr. Bellot, to urge the Lord Treasurer on this matter, it might be to goode purpose, when a better time dothe offer to move the Queene than I had; for wordes then were to no availe, tho as discreetlie brought as I was able. It might not be amisse to talke to this poor younge Ladie to be more dutiful, and not absent at meals or prayers, to bear her Highnesse mantle and other furniture, even more than all the reste of the servantes, to make ample amends by future diligence; and always to go first in the morninge to her Highnesse chamber, forasmuche as suche kindnesse will muche prevail to turne awaie all former displeasure. She must not entertaine my Lorde the Earl in any conversation, but shunne his compayne; and moreover be less carefull in attiringe her own

own person, for this seemethe as done more to win the Earl, than her mistresse good will. Suche and other advice as you and other friendes are more able to give on these matters may prevent all other extreme proceedinge, especiallye if it be urged by my Lorde Treasurer, in assurance of her good behaviour. If we consider the favours shewed her familie, there is ground for ill humour in the Queen, who dothe not now beare with such composed spirit as she was wont, but, since the Irish affairs, seemethe more froward than commonlie she used to bear herself toward her women, nor dothe she holde them in discourse with such familiar matter, but often chides for small neglects, in such wise as to make these fair maids often cry and bewail in piteous sort, as I am tolde by my sister Elizabeth. Pray observe secrefy in discovering my good will, when you speake to Mr. Bellot, or write to the Lorde Treasurer; as it is not safe to bee too meddling in such matters. Commende me to your Ladye Mall, not forgetting

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forgetting her brothers and childe[n]e. And
now in all love I hie to mine office and du-
tie, remaining

Your Servante,

May 23, 1597.

W. FENTON.



A Letter

*A Letter from Lord HARINGTON to
Sir JOHN HARINGTON, at Bathe.*

Much respected Cofin,

OUR great care and honourable charge, entrusted to us by the Kings Majestie, hath been matter of so much concern, that it almost effaced the attention to kyn or friend. With Gods affiance we hope to do our Lady Elizabeth such ser-
vice as is due to her princely endowments and natural abilities; both which appear the sweet dawning of future comfort to her royal father. The late divilish conspiracy did much disturb this part. The King hath got at much truth from the mouths of the crew themselves; for guilt hath no peace, nor can there be guilt like theirs. One hath confessed that he had many meetings at Bathe about this hellish design; you will do his Majestie unspeakable kindness, to watch in your neighbourhood, and give such intelligence as may furnish inquiry. We know of some evil-minded Catholics in the West, whom the Prince of darknes

hath

hath in alliance; God ward them from such evil, or seeking it to others. Ancient history doth shew the heart of man in divers forms: We read of States overthrown by craft and subtlety; of Princes slain in field and closet; of strange machinations devised by the natural bent of evil hearts: But no page can tell such a horrid tale as this. Well doth the wise man say, that the wicked imagineth mischeif in secret. What, dear cosin, coud be more secret or more wicked? A wise King and wise Council of a nation at one blow destroyed in such wise as was now intended, is not matchable. It shameth Caligula, Erostratus, Nero, and Domitian, who were but each of them fly-killers to these wretches. Can it be said that religion did suggest these designs; did the spirit of truth work in these mens hearts? How much is their guilt encreas'd by such protesting! I cannot but mark the just appointment of Heaven in the punishing of these desperate men, who fled to our neighbourhood; you hear they sufferd themselves by the very means they

hd

had contriv'd for others. A barrel of gun-powder was set on fire during the time that the house was besieged, and killed two or three on the spot; so just is the vengeance of God. I have seen some of the chief, and think they bear an evil mark in their foreheads, for more terrible countenances never were looked upon. His Majesty did sometime desire to see these men, but said he felt himself sorely appall'd at the thought, and so forbare. I am not yet recover'd from the fever occasioned by these disturbances. I went with Sir Fulk Grevile to alarm the neighbourhood and surprize the villains, who came to Holbach; was out five days in peril of death, in fear for the great charge I left at home. Wyster hath confess'd their design to surprize the Princess at my house, if their wickedness had taken place at London. Some of them say, she woud have been proclaimed Queen. Her Highness doth often say, What a Queen shoud I have been by this means? I had rather have been with my royal father in the Parliament-House, than wear

his

his crown on such condition. This poor Lady hath not yet recover'd the suspition and is very ill and troubled. I hear by our messenger from his Majestie, that these designs were not formed by a few; the whole legion of Catholics were consulted, the Priests were to pacify their consciences and the Pope confirm a general absolution for this glorious deed, so much honourable to God and his holy religion. His Majestie doth much meditate on this marvellous escape, and blesses God for delivering his family and saving his kingdom from the triumphs of Satan and the rage of Babylon. My being created Baron of Exton did give much offence to some of the Catholics; and his Majesties honouring my wife and self with the care of the Lady Elizabeth stirred up much discontent on every side. I only pray God to affist our poor endeavours, and accept our good will to do right herein, man gre all malice and envious calumny. If I can do you any service with the King, you may command my friendship in this and every other matter I can. He hath no little affection for your poetry and good learning,

learning, of which he himself is so great a judge and master. My Lady Sydney defires her remembrance to you, as do all friends from Warwickshire. I hope your disorder is much better; may you feel as much benefit from the Baths as I did aforetime. Thus, dear cosin, I have given my thoughts in large of our sad afront, as you desired by your sons letter, which is notably worded for his age. My son is now with Prince Henry, from whom I hope he will gain great advantage, from such towardly genius as he hath even at these years. May Heaven guard this realm from all such future designs, and keep us in peace and safety. My hearty love waits on Lady Mary, and every one belonging to her household. Pray remember what I desire as to noticing evil-minded men in your parts, as it is for the Kings sake and all our own sakes.

Adieu, dear Cofn,

From Comb-Abbey,
Jan. 6, 1606.

HARINGTON.

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Y

The

*The following Letter was written to
JAMES HARINGTON, Author of
the Book called Oceana, on his
Publication of that Work, by J.
LESLEY, Dep. C. and, as it con-
tains the true Spirit of Party Rage,
Prerogative Madness, and blind
Enthusiasm, is humbly offered to
the candid Reader for his Judg-
ment how far that Book deserves
such violent Treatment, or whether
the Writer had Sense enough to un-
derstand the Author's Meaning.
However it was then deemed a most
unanswerable Performance by the
bigotted Adherents to Jus Divinum,
and is found in the Hand-writing
of a Nobleman, at that Time stea-
dily attached to Non-Resistance:
This Letter is intitled, at the Top,
A Slap on the Snout of the Re-
publican*

publican Swine that rooteth up
Monarchy. *Risum teneatis Amici!*

J. LESLEY to JAMES HARINGTON, Esq.

S I R,

IT much grieveth me to see the wickedness of man, in overturning the works of God; albeit such iniquity doth not for ever prosper. Shall the Anointed of the Highest, the Rulers of the land, the Powers ordained, find trouble and annoyance from the pens of sedition; or can the vile labours of dust confound the stately pillars of heaven? Must Kings be deposed at every blast of human sufficiency, and the gates of government be shouldered by every Samson that boasteth in his mightiness? Verily this is to tempt the Lord, and, though Oceana be the offspring of much learning, long study, and abundant of ingenuity, yet must it fall again on your owne pate, or the wickedness it containeth, and the

evil it imagineth. Good man! what movethe James Harington to provoke the wrath of Kings? His own lineage is derived from the blood of the Anointed, as will truely appear in the following account, which I have much laboured to obtain from Sir Andrew Markham, and be it now marked with the eye of shame and sorrow. The marriage of your ancestor with a descendant from Matilda, neice to William the Conqueror, is the first derivation of royalty; another was granted lardge rewards by state acts, for valiantly making prisoner Henry the Sixth, in obeyance to the Powers that were then ruleing: The great King Henry the VIIIth matched his darling daughter to John Harington, and, though a bastard, dowered her with the rich lands of Baths priory; and Queen Elizabeth affected these faithful servants so much, as to become godmother to their son, and made him a knyght for his wit and his valour. Our blessed King James did ennable your great uncle the Lord Harington of Exton,
and

and entrusted to his care and wisdom the renowned Princess Elizabeth for tuition. Yourself was caref'd by the blessed martyr Charles, and honour'd with his wordes, and even his princelie favours from his own hands on the scaffold. And shall then any one branch of such noble stock, endowed with such rare gifts and graces, as all have been for the most part, and so many of you countenanced by Kings, shall any espouse such evil principles as you have now set forth in your book ? If this be learning, give me to know only righteousness, and seek the Lord by obeying those whom he hath appointed. Why do you thus stirr up the people to imagine a vain thing, and set themselves against the Anointed, to whom you claim such glorious affinity, nay consanguinity ? Had Prince Henry had pre-fage of your boldness, he would not have chosen young Lord Harington, your cosin, to tennis withal, and write Latin epistles to in Germany. His virtue and godliness, his endowments and learning woud not have

purchased such favours, if your future doings had been foreseen. The whole is to disturb the peace again, and fill the people with notions of Kings doing wrong, which all earthly wisdom and divine information prove they cannot do; for whatever is of God is pure and perfect. God anointed Solomon King, and Solomon judged wisely. Mr. Ferne is about to make nought your doctrines, and cover you with dishonour. You cannot be a good man, for, Fear God, and Honour the King, are both in one place, and support each other as the corner stones of religion and royalty. But you have dishonoured both, and blasted a long line of ancestors renoumd for both, and stirred up the ill affections of all the noble families to whom you stand in alliance. I coud not hold from speaking thus much, and if I may say more, you cannot do a better deed than burn the work, which will continue to sin when you are no more able to sin, and for ever prevent the shadow of mercy from approaching you; for

to him that fighteth against Kings there
can be no peace or quarter from the King
of Kings.

*I am your Well-adviser,
but in much wrath, as the cause requireth,*

Whitehall,
June 24.

J. LESLEY. Dep. C.



As

As slight Circumstances often point out the Change of Men and Manners at different Æras, the candid Reader will excuse the following Specimen of the Mode of Election in the last Century, and make what Reflections he pleases, on Comparison with the present Times.

To our muche honoured and worthie Friend, J. H. Esq. at his House at Kelston, near Bathe.

Worthie Sir,

OUT of the long experience we have had of your approved worth and sincerity, our Cittie of Bathe have determined and settled their resolutions to elect you for Burgeſſ of the House of Commons in this present Parliament, for our said Cittie, and do hope you will *accept the trouble thereof*; which if you do, our desires is, you will not fail to be with us at Bathe, on Monday next, the eighth of this instant, by eight of the

morning, at the furthest, for then we
ceed to our election. And of your de-
nination we intreat you to certifie us by
ord or two in writing, and send it by the
rer to

Your assured loving Friends,

December 6,
1645.

JOHN BIGG, the Major.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN.



A Specimen

A SPECIMEN of the MODE of Electing MEMBERS for PARLIAMENT in the last Century. Taken from a Memorandum MSS. of J. HARINGTON, Esq. of Kelston, in Somersetshire. Dated 1646.

A NOTE of my BATHE BUSINESSE about the PARLIAMENT.

SATURDAY, December 26th, 1646, went to Bathe, and dined with the Maior and Citizens; conferred about my election to serve in Parliament, as my father was helpless and ill able to go any more;—went to the George Inn at night, met the Bailifs, and desired to be dismissed from serving; drank strong beer and meethegin; expended about iijs. went home late, but could not get excused, as they entertained a good opinion of my father.

Monday,

Monday, Dec. 28th, went to Bathe; met Sir John Horner; we were chosen by the Citizens to serve for the City. The Maior and Citizens conferred about Parliament business. The Maior promised *Sir John Horner and myself a horse apiece*, when we went to London to the Parliament, which we accepted of; and we talked about the Synod and ecclesiastical dismissions. I am to go again on Thursday, and meet the Citizens about all such matters, and take advice thereon.

Thursday, 31, went to Bathe; Mr. Ashe preached. Dined at the George Inn with the Maior and 4 Citizens; spent at dinner vj sh. in wine.

Laid out in victuals at the George	s.	d.		
Inn	—	—	xj	4
Laid out in drinking	—	—	vij	ij
Laid out in tobacco and drinking vessels	—	—	iiij	4
Jan. 1. My father gave me 4l. to bear my expences at Bathe.			Mr.	

Mr. Chapman the Maior, came to Kelston and returned thanks, for my being chosen to serve in Parliamnt, to my father, in name of all the Citizens. My father gave me good advice, touching my speaking in Parliament as the City should direct me. Came home late at night from Bath, much troubled hereat concerning my proceeding truly for mens good report and mine own safety.

Note, I gave the City Messenger ijsh. for bearing the Maiors Letter to me. Laid out, in all, 3l. vijsh. for victuals, drink, and horse-hire, together with divers gifts.

N. B. The Editor is not quite certain that this Election was in 1646, as the Date is obscure in the MSS; but it was within a Year or two of that time.

Sir

Sir ROBERT SYDNEY to Sir JOHN
HARINGTON, 1600.

Worthy Knyght,

YOUR presente to the Queen was well accepted of; she did much commend your verse, nor did she less praise your prose: Your Irysh busines is less talked of at her Highness's palace, for all agree, that you did go and do as you were bidden; and, if the great Commanders went not where they ought, how shoud the Captains do better withouten order? But, mum, my worthie knyght, I crave all pardon for touching your galled back. The Queen hath tasted your dainties, and saith you have marvellous skill in cooking of good fruits. If I can serve you in your northern suit, you may commande me; I hear you have been to those parts, and taken possession of Harrington Parke: Our Lawyers say, your title is well grounded in conscience, but that strict law doth not countenance your recoveringe those landes of your ancestors,

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as

as the Queen's ryghte is somewhat extinguished by your cosins Stephen and James, who left issue, and hereby it comyth not straight to the Queen, whose good will towarde you is ever apparent. I have seen ancient recordes, wherein it appeareth, that Sir James Harington, slain in Bosworth field, did give by wyll all these landes to his brother, Sir Robert, who was attainted by Hen. VIIth, for siding with the Yorkists. Our Queen's father did grant them by reversion to your father, and so far I learn from Master Sherwood, a cunning lawyer; what I can do herein I will to serve you. Visit your friendes often, and please the Queen by all you can, for all the great Lawyers do much fear her displeasure. I know not how matters may prosper with your noble Commander, the Lord Essex; but must say no more at this time of writing. My sister beareth this in privacy, and therefore so safe; but I will not trust to ill fortune which crosseth good purpose, and leadeth oft to danger. My malady is much abated; my wife hath been my doctor,

tor, my nurse, my friend, and my sover-
eign cure. I supp broth from the Queens
kitchen, and eat of her Majesties sweet
cakes, which do nourish my poor blood,
and cherish good humours. I do read
Ariosto, and commend the translator to all
friends, which you mark as the best good
will I can shew you. Now you have left
the sword in Ireland, and taken to the
plough in England, let me have proofs of
your employ, and send me verses when you
can; I do see the Queen often, she doth
wax weak since the late troubles, and Bur-
leigh's death doth often draw tears from her
goodly cheeks; she walketh out but little,
meditates much alone; and sometimes writes
in private to her best friends. The Scot-
tish matters do cause much discourse, but
we know not the true grounds of State bu-
siness, nor venture farther on such ticklish
points. Her Highness hath done honour to
my poor house by visiting me, and seemed
much pleased at what we did to please her.
My son made her a fair speech, to which
she did give most gracious reply. The wo-

men did dance before her, whilst the cornets did salute from the gallery ; and she did vouchsafe to eat two morsels of rich comfit cake, and drank a small cordial from a gold cup. She had a marvelous suit of velvet borne by four of her first women attendants in rich apparel ; two ushers did go before, and at going up stairs she called for a staff, and was much wearied in walking about the house, and said she wished to come another day. Six drums and six trumpets waited in the court, and sounded at her approach and departure. My wife did bear herself in wondrous good liking, and was attired in a purple kyrtle fringed with gold ; and myself in a rich band and collar of needle-work, and did wear a goodly stuff of the bravest cut and fashion, with an under body of silver and loops. The Queen was much in commendation of our appearances, and smiled at the Ladies, who in their dances often came up to the stepp on which the seat was fixed to make their obeysance, and so fell back into their order again. The younger Markham did several

several gallant feats on a horse before the gate, leaping down and kissing his sword, then mounting swiftly on the saddle, and passed a lance with much skill. The day well nigh spent, the Queen went and tasted a small beverage that was set out in divers rooms were she might pass, and then in much order was attended to her palace, the cornets and trumpets sounding through the streets. One Knyght I dare not name did say, the Queen had done me more honour, than some that had served her better; but envious tongues have venomous shafts, and so I rest in peace with what hath happened, and God speed us all. My worthie Knyght, I wish you in health and good cheer, and when fortune doth favour, I hope to see you this way, and taste wit, and you shall taste our wine. Thus I will lay down my quill, which seldom wearys in a friendly tale; but aches, and pains, and sleep, and haste do all conspire against further matter of writing. Ever remaining, in kind remembrance,

Your Friend,

ROB. SYDNEY.

Z 8

Mr.

Mr. CHEEKE to JOHN HARINGTON,
Esq.

I COULD not take my leave of you at my departure, and geve you such thanckes as your frendshipp in myne aduersytie deserved ; and therfore I coulde no lesse then, at my going out of the Englishe pale, do that absent by letters, whiche I wolde have done present, and offer myself and my good will to be yours during my lief. You say it is nothing. It is not in deede ; a man without havour, and a will without habilitie, yet is it all I have, and therefore the greatest thing I can geve you ; not worthie your frendshipp, but not unfitt for my offer. I pray you, therefore, take me as a man myndfull of your desert, and readdye to wishe you suche continewance in honour, as your wisdome and frendshipp is worthie of. My desyre is of the same continewance of good will towards me that you have hetherto borne me ; whiche you shall fynde me as worthie, I trust, of, and as needful

as

as afore. This you shall shewe it moste to
~~me~~, if you will pittie and helpp my wifes
poor estate, being miserable of it self, if
your frendshepp helpp not her extreamitie.
I am gone to seeke for my self, I have
leste my children and her to her selfe and
her fute, whose relief is onlye in the Queens
goodnesse and your frendshipp; herein as
occasion serveth you, if you helpp a pitti-
full woman overladen almoste with the
greatnesse and deversitie of miseries, you
shall do worthie your accustomed and
knowen frendshipp; you shall bynde me
bothe at home and abroad to beare you
that good will that your contynewal good
mynde toward me hath alwaye deserved.
Yf there be any thing in theise coastes
which I passe throughe, that I may stand
you in any stede, I pray you commaunde
me as your owne. The living God kepe
you in his feare, and increase you in ho-
nour and godlynesse. Fare you well.

From Calais, the 4th of April, 1554.

PARLIAMENT

PARLIAMENT MATTERS, in 1628,
 and Times ensuing. In LETTERS
 to JOHN HARYNGTON, Esq. from
 Wm. PRYNNE, Esq.

3. *Actis. 3. Apr. 4^o Caroli Regis, 1628.*

1. **R**ESOLUED, vpon question, That
 no man ought to be committed, or
 detayned in prison, or otherwise restrayned,
 by the commaund of the Kinge or the pri-
 vye Counsell, or any other, vnlesse some
 cause of the committment, detayner, or
 restraynte, be expressed, for which by lawe
 he ought to be committed, or restrayned.

2. Resolued, vpon question, That the
 writt of *Habeas corpus* may not be denied,
 but ought to be granted to euerye man that
 is committed, or detayned in prison, or
 otherwise restraynd, though yt be by the
 commaund of the Kinge, the privye Coun-
 sell, or any other, he prayinge the same.

3. Resolued,

3. Resolued, vpon question, That, if a freeman be committed, or deteyned in pris-
on, or otherwise restrayned by the com-
maund of the Kinge, the privye Counsell,
or any other, noe cause of such commit-
ment, detayner, or restraynte being ex-
pressed, for which by lawe he ought to be
committed, deteyned, or restrayned; and
the same to be returned vpon a *Habeas cor-
pus*, or granted for the same partie; that
then he ought to be deliuerd or bayled.

4. Resolued, vpon question, That the
auntient and vndoubted right of euery
freeman is, that he hath full and absolute
properte in his goods and estate, and that
no taxe, tallage, loane, benevolence, or
other like charge, ought to be demaunded
or levyed by the Kinge, or any other his
Ministers, without common assent by *acte*
of Parliament.

Apr. 4^o.

The proceedings of the plaintiffe beinge
this daye related to the Kinge at the Coun-
sell-

sell-Boord, by the Counsellors of the Commons House of Parliament, his Majesty, vpon the reporte made, exprest the greate contentmente that it gave him, not valuing the money given, comparable to the heartes shewed in the way of givinge ; for although his greate occasions of State did require more money then att this tyme was given, yet now he made accompte he would not lack, sinthens he had theyr loves. And att this daye he thought he had gayned more reputacion in Christendome, then if he had gayned many battles. Saying further (according to his Speeche, the first daye of Parliamente) that they might easilly make him in love with Parliaments. Nowe he professed he was soe : and that they should see the fruite of it by callinge them ofter togeather ; and, to secure theyr feares and create future confidence, he assured them that they should inioye as great ymmunitiyes and freedomes as ere they possessed in the reygne of any the best Kinge of this realme.

Sir

Sir R. CECIL to Sir J. HARYNGTON,
 1603, with *Household Rules and*
Ordinances for Servantes.

**Sir ROBERT CECIL to Sir JOHN HARING-
 TON.**

My Noble Knyght,

MY thankes come wythe your papers
 and wholesome statutes for your fa-
 thers householde. I shall, as far as in me
 lieth, patterne the same, and geue good
 heed for due obseruance thereof in my
 own state. Your father did muche affect
 suche prudence ; nor dothe his sonne lesse
 followe his faire sample, of worthe learninge
 and honor. I shall not faile to keep your
 grace and favor quick and lively in the
 Kinges breaste, as far as good discretion
 guideth me, so as not to hazard my own
 reputation for humble suing, rather than
 bold and forward entreaties. You know
 all my former steppes ; good Knyght, reste
 content,

content, and give heed to one that hath
sorrowde in the bright lustre of a Courte,
and gone heavily even on the beste seeminge
faire grounde. "Tis a great taske to prove
ones honestye, and yet not spoil ones for-
tune. You have tafted a little hereof in
our blessed Queenes tyne, who was more
than a man, and, in troth, sometyme les
than a woman. I wishe I waited now in
your presence-chamber, with ease at my
foode, and rest in my bedde; I am pulh-
ed from the shere of comforde, and know
not where the wyndes and waves of a Court
will bear me; I know it bringeth little com-
forde on earthe; and he is, I reckon, no
wise man that looketh this waye to hea-
ven; we have muche stirre aboute Coun-
cils, and more aboute honors. Many
Knyghts were made at Theobalds, duringe
the Kynges staye at myne house, and more
to be made in the citie. My father had
muche wisdom in directing the State; and
I wysh I coud bear my parte so discretely
as he did. Farewel, good Knyght; but
never come neare London till I call you.

Too

Too much crowdinge doth not well for a
 cripple, and the Kynge dothe finde scante
 roome to sit himself, he hath so many friends
 as they chuse to be called, and Heaven
 prove they lye not in the ende. In trou-
 ble, hurrying, feigning, suing, and such-
 like matters, I nowe reste

Your true friende,

29 May, 1603.

R. CECIL.



ORDERS for Household Servantes;
*first devised by JOHN HARYNG-
TON, in the Yeare 1566, and re-
newed by JOHN HARYNGTON,
Sonne of the saide JOHN, in the
Yeare 1592: The saide JOHN, the
Sonne, being then High Shrieve of
the County of Somerset.*

I MPRIMIS, That no seruant bee absent
from praier, at morning or euening,
without a lawfull excuse, to be alledged
within one day after, vpon paine to forfeit
for euery tyme 2d.

II. Item, That none swear any othe,
vpon paine for euery othe 1d.

III. Item, That no man leaue any doore
open that he findeth shut, without theare
bee cause, vpon paine for euery tyme 1d.

IV. Item,

IV. Item, That none of the men be in bed, from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after 6 of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed after 10 of the clock at night; nor, from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after 7 in the morning, nor out after 9 at night, without reasonable cause, on paine of 2d.

V. That no mans bed bee vnmade, nor
fire or candle-box vncleane, after 8 of the
clock in the morning, on paine of 1d.

VI. Item, That no man make water
within either of the courts, vpon paine of,
euytyme it shalbe proued, 1d.

VII. Item, That no man teach any of the children any vnhonest speeche, or bau-die word, or othe, on paine of 4d.

VIII. Item, That no man waite at the table without a trencher in his hand; ex-

A a z cept

cept it be vpon some good cause, on paine of 1d.

IX. Item, That no man appointed to waite at my table be absent that meale, without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d.

X. Item, If any man breake a glasse, hee shall aunswere the price thereof out of his wages; and, if it bee not known who breake it, the buttler shall pay for it, on paine of 12d.

XI. Item, The table must bee covered halfe an houer before 11 at dinner, and 6 at supper, or before, on paine of 2d.

XII. Item, that meate bee readie at 11 or before at dinner, and 6 or before at supper, on paine of 6d.

XIII. Item, That none be absent, without leaue or good cause, the whole day, or any part of it, on paine of 4d.

XIV. Item,

XIV. Item, That no man strike his fellow, on paine of losse of seruice; nor reuile or threaten, or prouoke another to strike, on paine of 12d.

XV. Item, That no man come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d. and the cook likewyse to forfeit 1d.

XVI. Item, That none toy with the maids, on paine of 4d.

XVII. Item, That no man weare foule shirt on Sunday, nor broken hose or shooes, or dublett without buttons, on paine of 1d.

XVIII. Item, That, when any strainger goeth hence, the chamber be drest vp againe within 4 howrs after, on paine of 1d.

XIX. Item, That the hall bee made cleane euery day, by eight in the winter, and seauen in the sommer, on paine of him that should do it to forfeit 1d.

XX. That the cowrt-gate bee shutt ~~each~~
meale, and not opened during dinner and
supper, without iust cause, on paine the
porter to forfeit for euery time, 1d.

XXI. Item, That all stayrs in the house,
and other rooms that neede shall require,
bee made cleane on Fryday after dinner,
on paine of forfeyture of euery on whome
it shall be belong vnto, 3d.

All which sommes shalbe duly paide each
quarter-day out of their wages, and
bestowed on the poore, or other godly
use.



To Sir JOHN HARINGTON from
Lord Tho. Howard, 1611.

My Good and Trusty Knight,

IF you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for Courte, whenever it suiteth your own conveniency; the King hath often enquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the 'merry Blade,' as he hath oft called you, since you was here. I will now premise certainte thinges to be obserued by you, toward well gaining our Princes good affection: He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample meāns; he doth admire good fashion in cloaths, I pray you give good heed hereunto; strange devices oft come into mans conceit; some one regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue; another hath, perchance, special affection towardes outward thinges, cloaths, deportment,

deportment, and good countenance: I
 woud wish you to be well trimmed, get
 new jerkin well borded; and not too short;
 the King saith he liketh a flowing garment;
 besure it be not all of one sort, but diversly
 colourd, the collar falling somewhat down,
 and your ruff well stiffend and bushy. We
 have lately had many gallants who failed in
 their suits, for want of due obseruance of
 these matters. The King is nicely heedfull
 of such points, and dwelleth on good looks
 and handsome accourement. Eighteen
 servants were lately discharged, and many
 more will be discarded, who are not to his
 liking in these matters. I wish you to fol-
 low my directions, as I wish you to gain all
 you desire. Robert Carr is now most likely
 to win the Princes affection, and dothe it
 wonderously in a little time. The Prince
 leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek,
 smoothes his ruffled garment, and, when
 he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to
 divers others. This young man dothe
 much study all art and device; he hath
 changed

changed his taylors and tiremen many times, and all to please the Prince, who laugheth at the long grown fashion of our young Courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the King, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste and what pleaseth. In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. Do not of yourself say, This is good or bad; but, If it were your Majesties good opinion, I myself should think so and so; ask no more questions than what may serve to know the Princes thought. In private discourse, the King seldom speaketh of any mans temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing: The Roan jennet, whereon the King rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised: the good furniture, and; above all, what lost a great man much notice the other day.—A

Noble

Noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the King mounting the Roan ; deliverd his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given ; the Noble departed, and came to Courte the nexte day, and got no answer again. The Lord Treasurer was then pressed to move the Kings pleasure touching the petition ; when the King was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, ‘ Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a begar noteth not his gilt stirrups ? ’ Now it fell out, that the King had new furniture when the Noble saw him in the Courte-yard, but was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dres sing of the horse. Thus, good Knight, our Noble failed in his suit. I coud relate and offer some other remarks on these matters, but silence and discretion shoud be linked together like dog and bitch, for of them is gendred security ; I am certain it proveth so at this place. You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the Queens dayes. These things are

no more the fame ; your Queen did talk of her subjects love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well ; our King talketh of his subjects fear and subjection, and herein I think he dothe well too, as long as it holdeth good ; Carr hath all favours, as I told you before ; the King teacheth him Latin every morning, and I think some one should teach him English too, for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language. The King doth much covet his presence, the Ladies too are not behind hand in their admiration ; for I tell you, good Knight, this fellow is straight limbed, well-favoured, strong shoulder'd and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and shew of modesty ; tho, God wot, he well knoweth when to shew his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely ; and yet Will you come to Courte, and thinke to be well favoured ? Why, I say again, good Knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto ; your Latin and your Greek, your Italian,

Italian, your Spanish tongue, by your wit
 and discretion, may be well dooked ther
 for a while, as strangers at such a place;
 but these are not the thinges men meddy
 now a days: Will you say the moon shone
 all the summer? That the staine are bright
 jewels fit for Carns earth? That the Roan
 jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is willing
 to be bestridden by Alexander? That his
 eyes are fire, his tail is Beronicea locks,
 and a few more such fancies worthy your
 noticing? Your Lady is virtuous and some-
 what of a good huswife; has lived in a
 Courte in her time, and I believe you may
 venture her forthe again; but I know those
 woud not quietly rest, were Carr to leer
 on their wives, as some do perceive, yea,
 and like it well too they shoud be so no-
 ticed. If any mischance be to be wished,
 tis breaking a leg in the Kings presence,
 for this fellow owes all his favour to that
 bout; I think he hath better reason to speak
 well of his own horse, than the Kings Roan
 jennet. We are almost worn out in our
 endeavors

endeavours to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all in vain; where it endeth I cannot gues, but honours are talked of speedily for him. I truste this by my own son, that no danger may happen from our freedoms. If you come here, God speed your ploughing at the Courte. I know you do it rarely at home: So adieu, my good Knyght, and I will always write me your truly loving old freinde,

T. HOWARD.



*Copy of a Letter to J. HARINGTON,
Esq. at Kelston.*

WE the Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of Bathe, in fear and trouble, beseeche you to give advices to your son, touching our cities distres at this present time, that he may in such wise get favour from the Commander to spare further levies, as we hear the troopes are coming onward for our city, and our houses are emp-tied of all useful furniture, and much broken and disfigured; our poore suffer for want of victuals, and rich we have none. God assist your love and friendship to us, and favour your good will herein. Your son hathe good interest in the army, and we doubt not will use his endeavours to succour and save his poore neighbours. Warrants are come to raise horse, but we have none left; Colonel Sandford doth promise his assistance, as much as he is able. We have now 400 in the town and many more coming; God protect us from pillage. We remain *Your sincere Wellwishers to*

Bathe City, Feb. 1646. *command.* A

*A Letter to Captain HARRINGTON,
at his Quarters in Taunton, 1646.*

Good Sir,

IT is commanded me to give the thanks of our Citie of Bathe, and all its inhabitants, to you for your good care and concern in providing your owne company to come hither, and thereby preventing such disorder as doth often happen, too oft, under soldier-like quarterings. The troop behaved well, as it was expected your good direction did so endeavour they should. Major Hewlet got in the levies as commanded, in such manner as the rate observed all over the West. Many citizens had no monies ready, and were threatened with pillage. Eighteen horses were provided at the Market-house, and deliverd up, as you desird; but the men requird were excused on your desiring, nor was any seizure made, or plunder, excepting in liquors and bedding. The Town-house was filled with troops that came from Marlborow in their march West-

ward. I have sent out 5 men and 3 horses, but have no orders for more yet. God preserve our kingdom from these sad troubles much longer! I hear the Parliament have taken into consideration the Scots business; pray, good Sir, as far as your power goeth, do us all the service you can in these afflictions. I know your heart is ready to help us, and you stand fair with the General.

Our meal was taken by the Marlborow troop, but they restored it again to many of the poorer sort. Our beds they occupied entirely, but no greater mischief has happened as yet. God direct your good ordering for our safety in future; and come to us, when you can, as your presence will do us good. Your father went to London on Sunday. We have no Divine Service as yet; the churches are full of the troops furniture and bedding. Pardon my haste, as I have sent this by a poor man who may suffer if he is found out, and I dare not send a man on purpose on horseback, as the horse

horse would be taken. We all commend our love and duties to you, from

Your true friend,

ROBERT JONES, sen.

We heard you was hurt in the skirmishe on Holte-Common, and hope it was not severe enow to endanger your life.



*Letter to Mr. JOHN HARYNGTON,
at Cambridge, from the Lord High
Treasurer BURLEIGHE, 1578.*

I Thancke you, my good Jacke, for your lettres, which I lik not for the praise thei giue me, but for the promise thei make me; that is, that you will continewe your endevor to gett vnderstandinge, without the which, a man is lytle accompted of, and, in deed, can not tell truelie, how to accompte of him self. But, as the waie to knowledge is not shorte, so the travailers therein must neither be idle nor wearie; nor thinke a lytle ynough of that wherof non can have too much. For that weare like a man goinge home, that tooke the nexte inne for his owne house, or the halfe waie for his iorneis ende. Besides this, he that vndertaketh the iornie you haue in hande (if he will not goe out of the waie) must use good guides, as I doubt not but you will. For the Latin tongue, Tullye chieffelie, if not onlie; for the Roman story

story (whiche is exceedinge fitt for a Gentleman to vnderstande) Lyuie and Cæsar; for Logycke and Philosophie, Aristotle and Plato. And so, in all tonges and sciences, the most notable and approved (as your Tutor can best tell you) not dealinge with over greate varietie of books, which yonge men delite in; and yet, in myne opynion, they breede but a scattringe of the mynde. For, as Seneca sayeth, ‘Cavta lectio profest, varia delectat.’ Nowe, to geve you better speede in this waie, thoe your Maistres informacion and your good fathers aduise will muche availe you, yet to heare mye fansye can nothinge hinder you. Therefore thus I thincke: The most ordinarie meanes to further men to knowledge be readinge and hearinge; and reasoninge and wrytinge be most requisite; but all, done in tyme and order, be most profit-able. Hereof the rules be as dyvers, as theire witts be that be teachers, or the orders be in diuerse vniuersities and houses of lerninge. Therefore I will appointe you no other paterne; the place you lyve in

Letter to Mr. JOHN HAAH
at Cambridge, from the
 Treasurer BURLEIGH

I Thancke you, my good J: L
 lettres, which I lik not to
 thei give me, but for the p[re]me; that is, that you will
 endevor to gett vnderstan
 the which, a man is lytle
 in deed, can not tell to
 compte of him self. But
 knowledge is not shorte,
 therein must neither be iodi
 nor thinke a lytle ynoch, a
 non can have too much, for
 like a man goinge home

in dothe shewe you, from whence so manye notable lerned men and noble seruants of the Common wealth haue proceeded to fame and greate fortune. Onlie I woulde particularlie warne you, that (to see me a good fellow) you sytte not in your studie reading, when you shoulde be in the hall hearinge; nor be wrytinge a declamacion for your prayers, when you maye be at a disputation for your more profyt: For at a good lectur youe maie lerne, in an houre, that a good Teacher, perhapps, hath bene studyinge for a daie, and yourself, by readinge, shall not fynd oute in a moneth. Againe, you shall reache more discerninge of trothe in an howres reasoninge with others, then a weeks wrytinge by yourself; thoe I knowe nothinge I woulde haue you more vse then wrytinge. And nowe, that I haue made mention hereof, I will therein, likewise, tell you my mynde: In wrytinge, to seeke varietie of invention, to make choise of words and phrases, to vse apte examples, and good imitacyon, I knowe to be verie good thinges; but if you follow
the

the trade of Sir John Cheeke (who was, one of the sweetest flowers that hath coomen in my tyme ovt of the garden you growe in) you can not doe better. One manner of his, amongst dyvers excellent, was this, to appoint those that weare under hym, and that he desired shoulde moste profytt, to take a peece of Tullie, and to translate it into Englishe, and after, layinge theire bookes asyde, to translate the same againe into Latine, and then to compare them with the booke, and to consider whiche weare don aptelie, or vnproperlie; and howe neare Tullies phrase was felowed in the Latine, and the moste sweete and sensyble wrytinge in Englishe; contynewinge with this kinde of exercise once or twice in a weeke, for two or three yeres, you shall come to write (as he dyd) singularlie in both tongues, which is most necessarie and most comedable.

Last of all, whether you speeke, or write, or whatsoeuer you doe, I wolde aduise you to remember Cicero his lesson, which is good

good in lerninge, but better in lyvinge:
 ' Omnis actio vacare debet temeritate et
 negligentia.' Thus firt fearinge and prai-
 inge God, and folowinge your booke and
 good companie, you shall become a greate
 comforde to your father, and praiise to your
 Master, an honor to the Vniuersitie that
 breedes you, a fytte servaunte for the
 Queene and your countrey, for which you
 weare born, and to which, next God, you
 are most bounde; a good stae to your self,
 and no smale ioye to your freends; which
 I, that loves you, bothe wishe and hope of.
 And so commend me to you, my goode
 Jack, and us bothe to Gods goodnes.
 From the Courte, the vith of June, 1578.

Your fathers frende that loves you,

BURLEIGHE.

Mr.

Mr. ROBERT MARKHAM, to JOHN
HARINGTON, Esq. 1598.

NOtwithstandinge the perilous state of our times, I shall not faile to give you such intelligence and advices of our matters here as may tende to your use and benefite. We haue gotten goode accounte of some matters, and, as I shall finde some safe conduct for bearinge them to you, it may from time to time happen, that I sende tydings of our courtly concerns. Since your departure from hence, you haue been spoke of, and withe no ill will, both by the Nobles and the Queene herself. Your book is almoste forgiven, and I may say forgotten; but not for its lacke of wit or satyr. Those whome you feared moste are now bosoming themselves in the Queenes grace; and tho' her Highnesse signified displeasure in out-warde sorte, yet did she like the marrowe of your booke. Your great enemye, Sir James, did once mention the Star Chamber, but your good esteem in better mindes outdid

outdid his endeavours, and all is silent again. The Queen is minded to take you to her favour, but she fweareth that she believes you will make epigrams and write *misfacons* again on her and all the Courte; she hath been heard to say, 'that merry poet her godson, must not come to Greenwich, till he hath grown sober and leaveth the Ladies sportes and frolics.' She did conceive much disquiet on being tolde you had aimed a shafte at Leicester; I wifhe you knew the author of that ill deed, I woud not be in his beste jerkin for a thousand markes. You yet stande well in her Highnesse loue, and I hear you are to go to Ireland with the Lieutenant, Essex; if so, mark my counsel in this matter: I doubt not your valor nor your labor, but that damnable uncoverd honestie will marr your fortunes. Observe the man who commandeth, and yet is commanded himselfe; he goeth not forthe to serve the Queenes realme, but to humor his owne revenge. Be heedful of your bearinges; speake not your minde to all you meete. I tell you I have

have ground for my caution; Essex hath enemies; he hath friendes too; now there are two or three of Montjoys kindred sent oute in your armie; they are to report all your conduct to us at home. As you loue yourself, the Queene, and me, discover not these matters; if I did not loue you, they had never been tolde: high concerns deserve high attention; you are to take accounte of all that passes in your expedition, and keepe journal thereof, unknown to any in the company; this will be expected of you; I have reasons to give for this order: If the Lord Deputy performs in the field what he hath promised in the Council, all will be well; but, tho' the Queene hathe gravnted forgiveneffe for his late demeanor in her presence, we know not what to think hereof. She hath, in all outwarde semblance, placed confidence in the man who so lately fought other treatment at her handes; we do sometime thinke one way, and sometime another; what betydeth the Lord Deputy is known to Him only who

knowethe all; but when a man hath so manie
 shewing friendes, and so manie unshewing
 enemies, who learneth his end here below?
 I say, do you not meddle in any forte, nor
 give your jesting too freely among those
 you know not; obey the Lord Deputy in
 all thinges, but give not your opinion; it
 may be heard in England. Tho' you obey
 yet seem not to advise, in any one pointe;
 your obeysance may be, and must be, con-
 strued well; but your counsel may be ill
 thoughte of, if any bad businesse followe.
 You have now a secret from one that wishes
 you all welfare and honour; I know there
 are overlookers set on you all, so God di-
 rect your discretion. Sir William Knolles
 is not well pleased, the Queene is not well
 pleased, the Lord Deputy may be pleased
 nowe, but I fore fear what maye happen
 hereafter. The hart of man lieth close hid
 oft time; men do not carrie it in their
 hand, nor should they do so that wish to
 thrive in these times and in these places;
 I say this that your own honestie may not
 shew

shew itself too muche, and turn to your own ill favor. Stifle your understandinge as muche as may be ; mind your booke, and make your jestes, but take heed who they light on. My love hathe overcome almoste my confidence and truste which my truthe and place demandethe. I have said too much for one in my dependant occupation, and yet too little for a friende and kinsman, who putteth himself to this hard tryal for your advantage. You have difficult matters to encounter besyde Tirone and the rebels ; there is little heed to be had to shewe of affection in State businesse ; I finde thys by those I discourse wyth dailie, and those to of the wiser sorte. If my Lord Treasurer had livede longer, matters woud go on surer. He was our greate Pilot, on whom all caste their eyes, and foughte their safetie. The Queenes Highnesse doth often speake of him in teares, and turn asyde, when he is discoursed of ; nay, even forbiddeth any mention to be made of his name in the Council : This I learne by

C c 2 some

some friendes who are in good liking with Lord Buckhurst. My sister beareth thys to you, but dothe not knowe what it containethe, nor woud I disclose to any woman my dealinges in this sorte ; for danger goeth abroad, and silence is the safest armor. The death of K. Philip was good news to our realme ; God did seem to punishe his vain glorie bothe in his life and at his death. It is reported he was eaten up by loathsome vermin ; and we know what troubles he endured aforetyme, and yet got little good but in his Portugal businesse. God speed your journeys and keep you safelie to returne to us againe. So wifethe and praiethe

Your loving Kinsman and Friende,

ROB. MARKHAM.

N. B. The Editor is sorry he could not throw together the papers respecting the Irish affairs, in their proper order ; but, as many of these pieces were sent to

to the press before others were found, it was impossible to digest them in due time.

* * * The Work alluded to, in the foregoing Letter, was called *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*; a severe Satire on many persons, at that time in high stations, and incurred severe censure from the Queen herself. But the Author's estimation with that Princeſ secured an unexpected forgiveness.



The State of Ireland, as it appeared to the Army Inspectors in Queen ELIZABETH's Time, during the Rebellion in 1599. From a Paper sent by Lord ESSEX to England, and delivered by Sir JOHN HARINGTON, Captain of Horse.

THE cheefe causes of want of reformation in Ireland arise, 1. From the Churches for the most part, in general, being decayed so as the lawes of God are not in anye good forte or order therein minister'd.

2. The good instructions delivered to Governor from England, not put into execution, nor followed during their governments.

3. No shire halls, nor other places fitt for the ordinary administration of justice there.

4. No

4. No circuits nor quarter sessions there kept, as becometh.
5. The disorders of soldiers not punished.
6. The disorders of purveyors' not corrected.
7. The joyning in marriage, fostring, and allying of the Iryshry withe the Englishe subiects.
8. No Englishe laws or orders put in execution, or administered in Iryshe countries, where the Englyshe do governe.
9. No restitution made to the subiects of the Pale for any spoyles on them committed by the Iryshry.
10. The selling of horse armour, weapons, munition and furniture by the Englysh subiects to the Iryshry, and payeing of great

great customs and duties in the Irysh mar-
kets by the Englysh subiects.

11. The great want of Englysh tenants
throughout the Pale.

12. The want of armour, weapons, mu-
nition, and furniture by the subiects of the
Pale, and want of skyll for lacke of exer-
cise, how to use Englyshe weapons.

13. The want of schooles throughout the
Pale, either to learn younglings the Eng-
lyshe tongue, or to instruct the elder sorte
in rules of humanitye.

14. The want of gaol-houses for to im-
prison offenders; by reason whereof private
subiects do imprison within theire owne
houses for their particular causes; and like-
wise upon agreement with the parties, do
also enlarge, by which occasion, force is
holden in many places for lawe, and the
meaner sorte greatly impoverished.

15. A number of idle people, horse-men, Karne, Galoglaſs, and ſuch like, with their followers, and dependers, do live travelling the Pale, and consuming the poor inhabitants thereof in eating their meate and drinke, and drawinge the Iryſh neighbours to robbe and ſpoyle the ſubjects as they find opportunity, who, being knowne offenders, doth ſometymes ſhew ſigns of advancing into the Iryſh countries next adjoyning, and there accompanying themſelves with the looſeſt and naughtie people thereof; with whom they join in alliance, to the end to acquaint them with the pathes and ſecreties of the Pale, of intent to puniſh the robbery and ſuch like, to every one theſe idle people are not friendlie unto; by which diſorders great harms have been often committed, the offenders eſcaping punishment thereof.

16. Item, The looſe and naughtie people of the Iryſhry are ſometymes taken to Comericke by the borderers of the Pale, during

duringe which time they be not only hare-doers, but become perfect guides to harm the subiects in time of rebellion.

17. Item, The youthe of the Iryshe countries are for the most part brought up in the Pale as horse-boyes, until they come to years of man's estate, whereas they commonly depart into their owne countries with some spoyle, and, being learnede after in warrs or committinge of stelthes, there they are maintained, and relieved in the Pale as beggars; so is the Pale theyr only refuge, save duringe the time that they are able to offend the same.

18. Item, The maintaininge of a number of uncivil and unneceſſarie people, by the wicked abuse of coyn and iivery greatly used.

19. Item, The borderers of the Pale bringeing up their children after the savage and Iryshe manner, settinge them at liberty
at

at the age of sixteen years, or thereabouts, with companies of Karne, to live unbridled by the spoyle.

20. The not usinge Englishe apparel and Englishe behaviour by many great Gentlemen on the borders, of Englishe birth.

21. Item, The maintaininge of Irishe harpers, rymers, bardes, poets, and such other their likes, in the Pale together, proving that the Iryshe behaviour is too perfectly lernede.

22. Item, The merchantes of the Pale do not bring Englyshe bowes, and armor, as by the lawes they are appointed, whereof the subjects are very ill furnished.

23. Item, The leavyng of Englyshe castles, and border landes waste by the Englishe subjects, or setting the same to some Iryshe Gentlemen that have made free passages into many places of the Pale for the Iryshry

[see]

Iryshy to have their wills; by committing
many spoiles therin to the weakeninge
thereof.

24. Item, The using to kill, murde,
robbe, and spoyle by such of the English
borders, as on whose name the like offences
have been committed, unless that great
eryckes or ransomes be made in recompence,
not seeking the due means to punish
the sayd offences, by course of her Majes-
ty's lawes, hath bred great disquietnes to
that estate.

25. Item, The using to parley by bor-
derers with the Iryshe neighbours privatly
for their own causes without commision,
and joyninge with them in great league of
friendshippe; by means whereof the secret
servyce, intended by Governors on their
appointments, have been by the said pri-
vate parlers made knowne to the rebels,
to the great hinderance of servyce many
times.

26. Item,

26. Item, Loose, idle, and naughty people of the Iryshe countries, by whom the subjects are most offended, are not answered for, nor brought in by the Captains or cheefetains of the Iryshe, neither punished in any sorte for their offences, to the great annoyance of the Pale, by such encouragement.

27. The relievinge of the Iryshry with aqua vitæ, made plentifully in the Pale, and to them conveyed as well in time of peace, as duringe their rebellion, to their great incouragment, and hindring the Pale many wayes.

28. Item, The want of good labourers, handycraftsmen, and artificers, by occasion that so many are mayntainde in idle life, hath greatly weakened the countrey in general.

29. The black rents and tributes, paid by the Englishe subjects to the Irysh neigh-

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hours, doth weaken the subiect, and strengthen the enemy very much.

30. Item, The hue and cry not followed in forme of lawe, on any robbery or spoyle committed by the Rebels, doth embolden them greatly, and weaken the Englyshe nation.

31. Item, The Spirituallities and Temporalities do not maintain the number of men appointed them by the lawes, for the defence of the realme, to the distrengthening thereof.

32. The Sheryffes and Under-sheryffes of the English counties do use to accompany themselves with Kars and suchlike Irysh helpers, in servynge her Majesties processses, and doing of their offices, being very unfitt ministers to execute any Englishe actions, under colour whereof they take horse-meate and man's meate gratis, and commit great extortion and outrage, but never are punischede.

For

For all which abuses and defectes there are many good lawes; yet fuche hath been the negligent execution of them, that they are at this tyme little regarded; therefore no hope of reformation, untill the saide lawes are executed, or such as shall be thought necessary, without respect of persons.



A Letter of the QUEENE's Majesties Translation out of SENECA.

N. B. This Letter was given by Queene ELIZABETH, to her Servante JOHN HARRINGTON, in Token of Remembrance of her Highnes Pains-taking and learned Skyll, 1567, and which he did highly prize and esteem in such Sort.

WHERE is this witt become, where lies this subtil scanninge that breeds this contempte of all? What harborowe hath the stoutnesse of thie mynde? Can so small a thing vexe the? Thie servaunte fawe thie busines greate, and thought that meetest cawse to leave the so; what, and thye frends beguile the? Geve them that name that the Epicure gave them: Such be their cristening. What great matter is it if they leave thee at thie neede, that made thee marre thie worke, and cawfed thee troblesonne to all? There is none of all theise things neither unwonted or unlooked

looked for. To be offendid at theise mat-
ters is as great a scorne, as to whyne that
thow art dashed with myre, or trobled with
the thronge: Our lief is as thrall to my-
happes as paynes be common, multitudes
not rare, and journeys of sondrie fortis.
Some things are diferred, and other redi-
lye happens. It is no delighting thinge to
lyve, for so thow entrest into a long jour-
ney, where fortymes thow must needes
flyppe and then upp agayne, and so som-
tymes thow fallest, often tymes art weried,
and dryven to crye oute. Of deathe thow
measurest this waye, in some place thow
shalt leave thi companyon, in an other
tyme thow shalt have his compayne, in an
other thow shalt feare hym. By suche
myshappes fallen in offence, this broken
craggie waye must thou passe: Who so
must dye, let his mynde be prepared a-
gainst all events. When he hathe suffrede
the clappe, let hym be sure the light-
eninge is past. Let hym not be ignorant
that he is come in to that place, where
greevous woes and revenging cares have

made theire harborowe; where pale disease and sad age have built their tenement. In this rotten bower our life we must lead: To shonne theise things we cannott, to despyle them lieth in our power. And thus we may contempne them, if ofte we thincke there on, and overtake them ere they happe. There is no man but stoutlier resisteth that to whiche a long contynewed purpose hath hasted his redynesse, and maketh hym with force resynt the hardest happs by fore thoughts of suche chaunces.

But, farr awaye from this, the unskilfull man is made full sore afraied of every tryfeling cawse. Let this be our greatest care, that never nothing happen to us that our imagination hath not foretolde us. And, for that all things be made more greevous bye noveltie, lett this daylye thought stand the in stede, that thou never be a new soldiour to anye mishapp. Have thie servants forsaken thee? thou art in good case, other they have robbed, some they have accused, other they have killed,

killed, betraied, overtrodden, yea, ended
with xenome, and shortenyd their dayes by
false accusation : There is nothing thou
canſt reckon that hath not bene the luck of
more than one. Since then manie and
ſondrie mishapps be levelled to our ſhare,
of whiche ſome ſtycke faſte in us, other
ſome glaunce very near unto us, and,
when they moſte touche us, wee go not
free without ſome rafe of another's mishapp.
Let us make no wonder of ſuche things,
to which we are borne ; let no one com-
playne of that, that a lyke doth happ to all ;
thus I mean alyke, for, though one ſhonne
it, he might have ſuffered it. The law is
a lyke, not by the uſe, but by the com-
maundement. Let equitye reigne over thiſ
mynde, and without bill of complaint pay
the trybute that to death thou oweſt. The
winter bringeth his coldes, ſhever then :
The ſummer ſheweth her heat, give place
to his gloomes. The evell-seafoned aier
breedeth diseases : Brook well ſicknes. An
untamed beaſt croſſeth thiſ waie ; yet, wurſt
then

then that, one harmfuller of thine sexe: Somethinge water destroyeth, an other the fyer takes awaye; the wandring state of things no man maye chaunge. This onlye lyeth in our power, to frame a stowte mynde and worthie a good bodie, by which we maye strongly withstand mishappes, and easlye consent to nature's myserye: Yea, nature her self (which daylye our eyes witnesseth) tempereth the force of her raigne with the nomber of her chaunges. The cleare daies followes the darck clowdes; the rowghest seas infues the greatest calmes; the wynds that harme and helpp be blasted bothe at once. The day followes the tract the night hathe gone before; part of the heavens bye rowling cometh alofte, when other part is drenched in hidden place far from our sight: The contynewaunce of all standeth by contrarieties. To this lawe our mynde must be prepared; let it follow and obey this, and, whatsoever betydes, let hym thinck it behoved to be done; and let hym fynde no faulte with nature's blame:

It

It is best to suffer that thou canst not mend. And, fence, God is the authour of all things that be, without whome nothing can happ, let us follow him with no grudging mynde. An evell souldiour is he whoe with fighes followes his Captayne: wherefore lett us take our chardge not lyke the grudging fluggard, but as the joyfull man; nor lett us leave this course of faire workmansipp, in which all our sufferaunce is well engraven. And thus let us talke with our Maker, the Father and Ruler of the loftie skye: Lead me where so it please the best, no abode shall staye, but I will obeye; with no flowe pace will I traſe thie pathe. Imagen that so I cannot doe, yet must I follow thee with teares, and, as a wicked wretche, must byde that, which, as a good man, I might have borne. Destenies guyde the willing, but draw the grudging forte.

So let us live, so doe we speake, that theye maye ever fynde us readie and not unprepared. The greatest hart is it that
bequeaves

bequeaves to God his parte, and he, of
baie and basterdlye mynde that wrestells a
pluck with the world's order, conceyves
therof an evill opynion, and seekes rather
to amend God than hym self.



*W*ords spoken by the QUEENE to Ma-
ter CECIL afterwards Lord BUR-
LEIGH.

I GIVE you this chardge, that you shall
be of my Privie Counseille, and con-
tent yourself to take paines for me and my
realme. This judgement I have of you,
that you will not be corrupted with anie
natter of guisfe; and that you will be faith-
full to the State, and that, without respect
of mye private will, you will give me that
counseile that you thinek best: And, if you
hall know anie thinge necessarie to be de-
clared to me of secreasie, you shall shew
it to myeself onlie, and assure yourself I
will not faile to keep taciturnitie therein.
And thearfore hearewith I chardge you.

*W*ords

*Words spoken by the QUEENE to the
LORDES, at her Acceffion.*

Y **M**Y Lordes, the law of nature moveth me to sorrowe for my sister: The burdaine that is fallen upon me maketh me amazed; and yet, confydering I am God's creature,ordeined to obay his appointment, I will thearto yelde, requiringe from the bottome of my hearte, that I may have affstaunce of his grace, to be the minister of his heavenlie will in this office nowe committed to me. And, as I am but one bodie naturallye confydered, though, by his permiffion, a bodie politick to governe; so I shall require you all, my Lords, (chieflie you of the Nobilitie, everie one in his degree and powre) to be affstant to me; that I with my rulinge, and you with your service, maye make a good accompte to Almyghtie God, and leave some comfort to our posteritie in earthe. I meane to direct all myne actions by good advice and counseill, and thearfore, at this present,
con-

confydering that divers of you be of the
 auncient nobilitie, having your beginninge
 and estates of my progenitors, Kings of
 this realme, and thearbie ought in honour
 to haue the more naturall care for the main-
 taining of mye estate and this common-
 wealth. Some others haue bene of long
 experiance in governaunce, and ennabled
 by my father of noble memorie, my bro-
 ther, and my late sister, to bear office:
 The rest of you being uppon special trust
 latelie called to her service onlie and trust,
 for your service confydered and rewarded.
 My meaning is to require, of you all, no-
 thing more but faithfull harts, in suche ser-
 vice as from tyme to tyme shal be in your
 powers towardes the preservation of me and
 this commonwealth. And, for counsell
 and advice, I shall accept you of my nobi-
 litie, and suche others of you the rest, as
 in consultation I shall thinck mete, and
 shortlie appointe; to the whiche also, with
 their advice, I will join to their aide, and
 for ease of their burden, others mete for

my service ; and they which I shall not appoint, lett them not thinck the same for anie disabilitie in them, but for that I consider a multitude doth make rather disorder and confusion than good counseill, and of my good will you shall not doubt using yourselves as appertaineth to good and loving subiects.

Extract from a Speech of Q. ELIZABETH, to her Parliament, relating to her Celibacy, 1575.

— — — **N**OW, to rehearse my meaning, latclie unfoldede to my Lord Keeper, yt shall not be needfull, though I must needs confess myne owne mylike so much to stryve againte the matter, as if I wear a milkmaide wyth a payle on my arme, wheareby my pryste person

person might be little set by ; I wolde not forsake my poore and singl state, to match wyth the greatest Monarche. Not that I do condemne the double knot, or judge amyſſ of ſuche as, forced by neceſſitie, cannot diſpoſe of themſelves to another lyfe.



The following Letters I find in a MSS. intituled, A precious Token of her Highness's great Wit and marvelous Understanding. It doth not seem improbable that ELIZABETH's Ambition might prompt her to emulate other Princes in the Gift of writing, dictating, and talking at the same Time, as these Letters intimate she did, on different Subjects. At what Time this happened is not mentioned, nor does the Subject determine the Period; but the Authenticity is scarce to be doubted, the MSS. containing many Papers written in her Time, and by a Person about the Courte. What Honour these extraordinary Performances reflect on this illustrious Virgin, the Editor submits to the Reader's Judgment, and

and wished only to gratify his Curiosity by inserting them.

*The Letter the QUEENE'S MAJESTY wrote,
whyleſt ſhe gave Inſtructions for the other that
followith, and hearing a Tale which ſhe made
Anſwer unto.*

EVEN ſuche good helpe, my friende, as never can appeare, is wiſt may fall unto your ſhare ! bye one even whollye yours, if he can be ſuch one; that ſcant is found to be his owne. Your curioufe care to know what greive encombred mye breast, together with the remedie that may cure the ſore, is harder for mee to utter than wryte.

If mye guest where not worse than the lodging, the rest were not worse than the travail; and leaſt my paraphraſe agree not with the text, I will make myne owne ex- poſition. The conſtitution of my mynde's vessel is not ſo evil framed, as whereupon grevous diſeases or perilous maladife have

taken holde. I fynde not the mixture so
evil made, as that any one of the four
elements of all overruleth so his fellow, as
that the rest may envy his happ.

Since but one other parte the divine
Powre hath geaven us for the best, it follow-
eth then that there must be the playnte, or
gone is all the mone. And your request
that feldom I denye, had not enforced a
custome newly made, it would have pleased
me well, that you should not forget how
hardlye grene wounds suffered their touch-
ers hand; but, since a naye your firme
riende can scarce be brought to make you,
the upper scale you shall touche, to fownde
the depthe, shall serve the feelers parte.
When I a gathering make of common
pathes and trades, and think upon the sun-
drie sortes of travailars in them, I fynde a
muse, no greater when multitudes be ga-
thered, and faces many a one, amongst
the whyche, not two of all be fownd alyke.
Then wonder breedes in me how all thys
worldlye

worldlye masse so longe is made to holde,
where never a mouldē is framed alyke, no
never a mynde agrees wyth any other. And,
were it not that heavenlye dower over-
comethe phylosophie, it coud not content
me well to remember that an evel is betterd,
the less it be endured.

The Letter dictated by the QUEEN.

A Question was once asked me thus, Must
a friende's request be denied? Answer me yea or naye. It was answered,
Nothynge. And first it is best to scann
what a friende is; which I thinke nothynge
less than friendshippē is, which I deem no-
thynge but one uniforme consent of two
myndes, suche as virtue links, and nought
but death can part. Therefore I conclude,
that the howse which shrinketh from its
foundation shall down for me. For friende
leaves he to be, that doth demande more
than the giver's grant, which reason's leave
maye yeilde. And, if then mye friende

no more, God send my foe may mende.
 And, if needlylie thou must wyll, yet at the
 least no power be thyne to atchieve thyne
 defyre; for where myndes differ, and opi-
 nions swarve, there is scant a friende in that
 companie. But if my happ be fallen in so
 happie a foyl, as one such be founde who
 wylls that beseems, and I be pleased with
 that he so allows; I bid myself farewell, and
 then I am but his.

The Reader may observe a strange quaintness in
 these letters, often obscure, yet mixed with shrewd
 matter; and in many places an affectation of con-
 fining the sentence to a kind of measure sometimes
 ten, eight, or six syllables.



The unexpected Surrender of Bristol Castle to the Parliament's Forces having been Matter of great Offence to the Royal Party, the following uncommon Summons from Lord FAIRFAX to Prince RUPERT may not be unacceptable to the Reader which is not inserted in Lord CLARENCE'S or RAPIN'S Account of that Matter, and is found written and inclosed in a Letter from Old PRYNN to J. H. calling it, The most Christian Remonstrance.

To Prince RUPERT.

S I R,

FOR the service of the Parliament I have brought their own army before the city of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to render it, with all the fortis belonging

belonging to the same, into my hands for their use.—Having used this plain language, as the busineſs requires, I wiſh it may be as effectual to you, as it is ſatisfactory to myſelf, that I do a little expoſtulate with you about the ſurrender of the ſame; which I confeſſ is a way not common, and which I ſhould not have ſo uſed, but in reſpect to a perſon of ſuſh ſort, and in ſuſh a place, to take into conſideration your royal birth, and the reſlation to the Crown of England, your honor, courage, all the virtues of your perſon, and the ſtrength of that place, which you may think yourſelf bound and able to maintain. Sir, the Crown of England is and will be where it ought to be. We fight to maintain it there; but the King, miſled by evil Counſellors, or thorough a ſeduced heart, has left his Parliament and People (under God the beſt aſſurance of his Crown and Family:) The maintaining of this ſcism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part; and what ſad effects it hath produced in the kingdom is viſible to all men. To maintain the right of the Crown

Crown and Kingdom joyntly, the principal part is, that the King in supreme actes concerning the whole State, is not to be ad-vised by men of whom the law takes no no-
tice, but by the Parliament, the great Council of the nation ; in whom, as much as man is capable of, he hears all his people as it were at once advising him, and in which multitude of Counsellors lies his safety and his people's interest. To set him right in this hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the Parliament ; and to bring those wicked instruments to justice that have misled him is a principal ground of our fighting. Sir, if God make this clear to you, as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you an heart to deliver it, notwithstanding all the considerations of honor, courage, and fidelity ; because their consistency and use depends upon the right or wrongfullness of what has been said. And, if upon such consideration you shoud surrender the city, and save the loss of blood and hazard of spoylling such a place, it would be an aet glorious in it self, and joy-
ful

ful to us, for the restoring you to the endeared affections of the Parliament and People of England, the truest friends to your family it hath in the world. But if this be hid from your eyes, and so great, so famous, and so ancient a city be expos'd, through your wilfulness, to the ruin and extremity of warr, (which yet we shall in that case, as much as possible, endeavor to prevent) then I appeal to the righteous God to judge between you and us, and to requite the wrong; and let all England judge whether to burn its towns, and ruin its cities, and destroy its people, be a good requital from a person of your family, which have had the prayers, tears, money, and blood of this Parliament; and if you look on either as divided, both ever had the same party in Parliament, and among the people most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you oppose and seek to destroy; and whose constant grief hath been that their desire to serve your family hath been hinder'd, and made fruitless by that same party about his Majesty. I expect

pect your speedy answer to this summons
by the return of the bearer this evening,
and am

Your Highness's humble Servant,
Sept. 4.
Tso. FAIRFAX.

Answer.

S I R,

I Received yours by your trumpet, and
desire to know if you will give me leave
to send a messenger to the King, to know
his pleasure therein. I am

Your Servant,

RUPERT.

Reply.

S I R,

YOUR overture of sending to his Ma-
jesty, to know his pleasure, I cannot
give way to, nor admit of so much delay
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as that woud require: wherefore thereb
cannot but understand your intention in
mated not to surrender without his Ma-
ty's consent, yet, because it is but impli-
I send again to know more clearly, if y
have any more positive anfwer to g
from yourself, which I desire to recea
before it be too late,

Your Highness's humble Servant,

Sept. 5.

Low & Dugent Lucy & Co. FAIRF-
IELD, Connecticut, Nov. 10. 1776.
Woud ob. greate care of 1776. I
will be at your service.

At the End of the SECOND VOLUME.

